

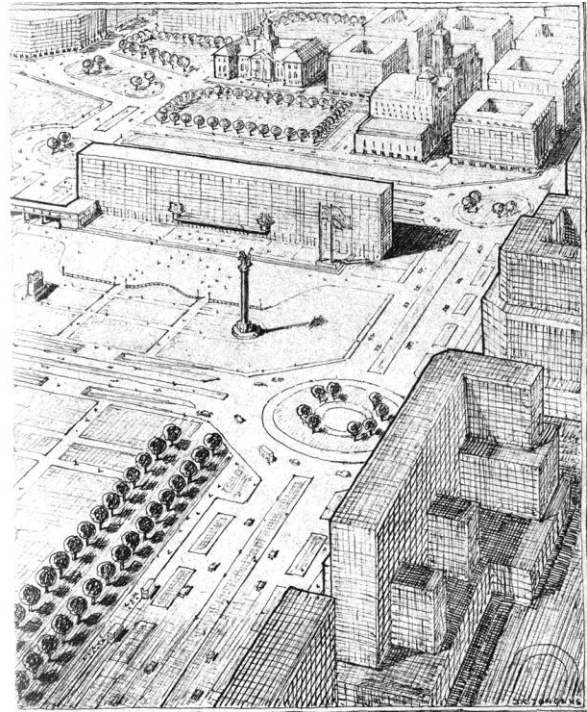
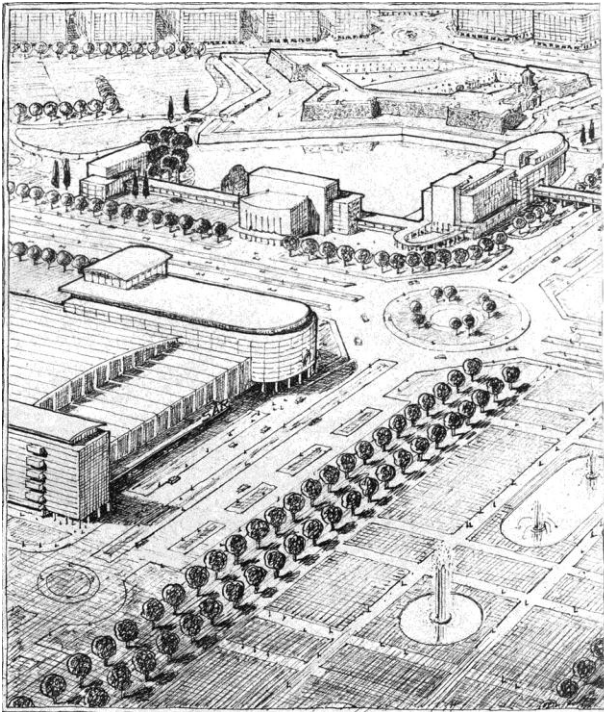
The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

# The Gateway of Tomorrow:

Modernist Town Planning on Cape Town's Foreshore, 1930-70

Nicholas Michiel Botha



Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts (Coursework & Dissertation)

Department of Historical Studies  
Faculty of Humanities  
University of Cape Town

2013

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date:

University of Cape Town

*This work is dedicated to the memory of my oupa,*

Michiel Kenne Botha

(1919-2011)

*engineer and road-builder of the Cape.*

University of Cape Town



## Abstract

Cape Town's Foreshore has been a site of contestation for much of the twentieth century. Conventional accounts of its history describe the sudden reclamation of land in 1937, and subsequent planning throughout the 1940s and 50s. However, these accounts do not take into account the complex nature of these developments. South African urban history has tended to view town planning as an apartheid spatial practice – highlighting an over-emphasis on race that has tried to make a case for 'South African exceptionalism'.

This thesis attempts to fill the lacuna on histories of Cape Town, providing a comprehensive, in-depth narrative of the development of the Foreshore, and its subsequent impact on most of Cape Town's built form – the most infamous of these are the 'lost highways' of the Table Bay flyovers. It will also challenge the dominant narrative of South African planning belonging to the Corbusian tradition, instead arguing that there is a clear convergence of the City Beautiful movement with that of High Modernism.

In attempting to understand the complex forces that shaped Cape Town, a thorough understanding of the particular context of the early twentieth century and the debates around town planning and the reconstruction of cities is essential. These had a direct influence on the contested visions of the city that were advocated by the Cape elite, and were influenced by British and American ideas of town planning and architecture, negotiated in a local context, and employed by a variety of actors that came from both local and international contexts. These networks of ideas highlight the transnational influence of town planning as it plays out on the Foreshore.

Through the particular South African context of the time, the space of the Foreshore became layered with a political ideology that affirmed white South African ownership of the space and marked the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and capital. This 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore will be shown in the various commemorative events, naming practices, monuments and buildings that arose on this contested space. This will also highlight the recurring contestations and negotiations between local (City Council) and national (South African Railways and Harbours) authorities.

## Table of Contents

<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Table of Figures</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Literature survey	4
Discussion of sources	17
Chapter breakdown	19
<b>CHAPTER 1 : Visions for the Foreshore</b>	<b>22</b>
Existing development on the Foreshore	22
Contestations and competing visions over the future of the Foreshore	25
The rise of formal town planning in South Africa	38
The 1938 Town Planning Congress	41
<b>CHAPTER 2 : Planning the Gateway</b>	<b>46</b>
The 1940 schemes	46
Transnational connections in town planning	55
Further contestation and final compromise	62
The 1947 Plan	65
<b>CHAPTER 3 : Afrikanerisation of the Foreshore</b>	<b>75</b>
The Metropolis of Tomorrow	76
The Foreshore Board	83
The Van Riebeeck Festival	84
Post-war utopias and publicising visions	88
<b>CHAPTER 4 : Follies on the Foreshore</b>	<b>93</b>
‘Egg-boxes’ and skyscrapers in Cape Town	93
Boulevard East, the Ring Road, and the Table Bay flyovers	104
The Civic Centre complex and the loss of the Monumental Approach	106
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Appendix A: Cape Town 66</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>Appendix B: The Diemont Commission of Inquiry</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>Appendix C: The long road</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>127</b>

## List of Abbreviations

A&B – Architect and Builder

AB&E – Architect, Builder and Engineer

ARCE – Annual Report of the City Engineer

CBD – Central Business District

CIAM – *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne* (International Congress of Modern Architecture)

CPIA – Cape Provincial Institute of Architects

CPPA – Cape Peninsula Publicity Association

CTFB-AR – Cape Town Foreshore Board Annual Report

CTFJTC – Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee

MM – Mayor's Minutes

R&HB Report – Report of the Railways and Harbours Board

RTAC – Roggebaai Technical Advisory Committee

SAAR – South African Architectural Record

SAR&H – South African Railway and Harbours (often referred to as 'Railway Administration')

SAR&H-ARGM – South African Railways & Harbours - Annual Report of the General Manager of Railways and Harbours

### Reports

1947 Plan – Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan: final report of the Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, June 1947* (Pretoria, 1948)

MoT – Solomon Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow" - a development plan for the central city and foreshore areas* (Cape Town, 1951)

## Table of Figures

Figure 1 – The eastern ‘lost highways’ of the Table Bay flyovers (Google Street View, accessed from maps.google.co.za on 08-02-2013) .....	2
Figure 2 – The sprawl of the Railway Goods Yard cutting off the city from the sea, with the municipal pier extending along the line of Adderley Street. To the right of the pier is the random block mole of the Modified South Arm Scheme, c1930 (UCT MacMillan Collection).....	24
Figure 3 - <i>Holiday Time in Cape Town in the Twentieth Century</i> by James Ford, 1899 .....	25
Figure 4 – McLeod’s Scheme emphasized the importance of public access to the waterfront. It depicted a promenade with park space and boating launches - similar to James’ painting. McLeod seemed to share a common sentiment of the time towards the Castle – proposed railway lines cut through it. It appears from this diagram that the idea of constructing a long harbour wall parallel to the shoreline, as implemented in the Duncan Dock, was an earlier consideration by the Table Bay Harbour Board (C.E. McLeod, <i>Proposed development of the Table Bay Foreshore of Cape Town, 1907</i> ) .....	26
Figure 5 – A rendition of the Foreshore, transformed into a site of leisure, 1911 (Anonymous, UCT MacMillan Collection) .....	27
Figure 6 – The circle at the sea-end of Adderley Street and the proposed municipal pier, 1911 (Anonymous, UCT MacMillan Collection).....	27
Figure 7 – Delbridge’s first proposed scheme for the Foreshore, mimicking the tight city blocks of the original VOC grid plan for Cape Town. The train station is pushed back in front of the Castle, while Buitenkant Street is extended to the harbour (AB&E August 1931) .....	30
Figure 8 – Allen’s proposed scheme; the emphasis on small city blocks, with a pleasure bay for yachting and rowing. Again the railway station is set back in from of the Castle, restoring the city’s connection to the sea (AB&E January 1932) .....	31
Figure 9 – Allen demonstrates the call for the railway lines to be sunk if they are to extend to Adderley Street. The Grand Parade, similar to his 1932 scheme, is now a landscaped park, giving further emphasis to the City Hall (AB&E November 1934) .....	31
Figure 10 - 1937 Scheme based on earlier 1935 proposal by Jack Craig, Table Bay Harbour Engineer. The passenger station remains on Adderley Street, while Adderley and Buitenkant Streets form the major axes to the harbour. City blocks remain in a fairly traditional grid, grouped around public squares. (Kalendar 1938-39, pg.20-24) .....	32
Figure 11 – 1934 TP Francis Scheme for Cape Town; a new city square is created in front of the railway station, which has been moved back to in front of the Castle. The rigid grid has been disrupted with curved roads, and city blocks remain small, and buildings low (UCT MacMillan Collection) .....	34
Figure 12 – Another proposal by Allen in 1936 that moved the goods station back, and sunk the railway lines, creating a park deck and a station on Adderley. The interesting addition of a dock for seaplanes reflects a new emerging technology, though a continuing emphasis on entry to the city via the sea. The alignment of the proposed dock is not set at a perpendicular angles to Adderley Street – a modification Lunn would suggest during later negotiations (SAAR 1936) .....	35
Figure 13 – The Duncan Dock with the reclaimed land of the Foreshore to the right (1947 Plan) .....	36
Figure 14 – Map of the Joint Technical Committee of 1938 (1947 Plan) .....	37
Figure 15 – Le Corbusier’s 1933 Scheme for Algiers. Its most prominent feature is the long elevated highway that hugs the coastline – there was even the radical proposal for it to contain housing, with cars driving overhead. It highlights a Modernist proposal to separate traffic from people, one very much emphasised in Le Corbusier’s Town Planning principles. (SAAR 1938) .....	42
Figure 16 – ‘The business centre for Capetown’ Scheme, with distinctive towers and raised highways (SAAR 1938) .....	43

Figure 17 – This representation of the orderly blocks, viewed from the harbour, bears a striking resemblance to Figure 18 – a point Pinnock made to highlight the association of Town Planning Cape Town with the Corbusian tradition (SAAR 1938) .....	44
Figure 18 – Street perspective from Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White’s 1940 Scheme. The resemblance between this and the Congress Scheme should not be read too closely – the admittedly hard, unfriendly blocks are more a representation of the potential space for buildings, with an eye for creating an orderly ensemble of buildings that would contribute to a sense of civic beauty. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, <i>Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940</i> ) .....	45
Figure 19 – Beaudouin’s 1940 Report. The ‘Park Avenue’ cuts a direct and dramatic line through the city, terminating in a grand central civic space. Entry to this space is via the Monumental Approach from the harbour. Different areas of the Foreshore are now grouped into separate functional zones. (Illustrated by DS Welch; E.E. Beaudouin, <i>Outline of scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town, 1940</i> ).....	50
Figure 20 – the monumental grouping of civic buildings, with the Monumental Approach from the harbour. The railway lines have been sunk below a civic plaza. (Illustrated by DS Welch; E.E. Beaudouin, <i>Outline of scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town, 1940</i> ).....	51
Figure 21 – Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson also produce a east-west axis, though this one is uninterrupted, and doesn’t produce the monumental plaza of Beaudouin’s report, nor does the axis extend up the mountainside. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, <i>Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940</i> ) .....	51
Figure 23 – an aerial perspective, showing the amphitheatre effect created by the mountain, and the axial procession way created from the Monumental Approach. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, <i>Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940</i> ) .....	52
Figure 24 – Beaudouin’s initial sketch, showing the grand east-west axis (from <i>Cape Town, Your City</i> 1956)...	53
Figure 25 – A ‘god-view’, peering through the parting clouds, dramatically reveals the ‘new city’. The perspective drawing displays the desire to produce a ‘city beautiful’ when viewed from above, stressing the coherence of a total design. (Anonymous [though the noted Cape Town Modernist architect Max Policansky worked for the city during the war], ARCE 1941) .....	54
Figure 26 – One of the few ground perspectives, and one of the few containing people. The perspective demonstrates a grand gateway from the ocean, with a large civic plaza framed by dramatic Modernist columns. (Anonymous, ARCE 1941) .....	55
Figure 27 – The central civic grouping, surrounded by areas zoned for commerce, industry and residential (Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948) .....	56
Figure 28 – A monumental approach, signifying the importance of the buildings which administer the territory. (Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948).....	57
Figure 29 – Thornton White’s relation of the influence of the City Beautiful movement through reference to the capital cities that employed grand axes and monumental civic (Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948) .....	57
Figure 30 – the central axis of the ‘new’ Plymouth, providing a central gathering space for citizens, and highlighting a sense of civic grandeur, emphasised by specific zoning for commerce. ( <i>A Plan for Plymouth, 1943</i> ) .....	59
Figure 31 – an overhead map emphasising the neat geometry of the main ceremonial axis (a Monumental Approach), linked to the harbour and terminating at the main train station. ( <i>A Plan for Plymouth, 1943</i> ) .....	60
Figure 32 – An orderly city of uniform buildings and grand axes – all converging on the main civic grouping by the waterfront. (Agache, <i>Cidado do Rio de Janeiro</i> , 1930) .....	61
Figure 33 – An aerial perspective of the monumental civic grouping, emphasised by the tall flanking columns that frame entry from the ocean. (Agache, <i>Cidado do Rio de Janeiro</i> , 1930).....	61

Figure 34 – Overhead map of Lunn’s interpretation of Beaudouin’s 1940 scheme. The Passenger Station has been pushed even further away onto the Foreshore, and the Castle has attracted significant landscaping through the creation of a water park on its north side. (Lunn, <i>The City Engineer’s report</i> , 1944) .....	62
Figure 35 – a perspective from above the Castle, highlighting the pleasure lake and surrounding buildings (done in the ‘International Style’). The park space of the Monumental Approach dominates the foreground, and the ocean liner emphasises the sea-based entry to the city. (Illustration by JC Jongsens. Lunn, <i>The City Engineer’s report</i> , 1944) .....	63
Figure 36 – a higher aerial perspective, focusing on the monumental civic plaza that frames the Civic Centre, and the broad roads with great big traffic circles to ensure constant-flowing traffic. (Illustration by JC Jongsens. Lunn, <i>The City Engineer’s report</i> , 1944) .....	64
Figure 37 – An overhead map, rendering the landscape in ‘neutral’ terms, with the grand boulevard drawn in a very neat line that apparently seems to ignore the contours of the landscape (1947 Plan) .....	66
Figure 38 – A model of Beaudouin’s revised 1945 Scheme (ARCE 1945) .....	66
Figure 39 – The brightly coloured map of the 1947 Plan, highlighting the new buildings, and in the particular the new, ‘green’ park spaces afforded by proposed landscaping schemes. The Monumental Approach gardens are even to include water features. (1947 Plan) .....	68
Figure 40 – The new Civic Centre, built on the site of the old City Hall. Behind it is the gardens linking it to the Parliamentary complex. Connecting it to the ‘new city’ is the station deck, with flanking statues and wide stairs, while another deck connects the Civic Centre to the Grand Parade. (1947 Plan) .....	69
Figure 41 – A watercolour perspective from ground level, showing very few people in the landscape. All the buildings display the regular, restrained façade of Modernist architecture. (Bernard Cooke, 1947 Plan) .....	70
Figure 42 – An aerial view, showing the orderly nature of the city as a whole. It is unusual that Cooke rendered the sky grey and gloomy. Perhaps it was to highlight the soft colours of the city below. (Bernard Cooke, 1947 Plan) .....	70
Figure 43 – The irregular and decorative facades of Adderley Street, combined with overhead tram wires, that Modernist architects decried. (1947 Plan) .....	71
Figure 44 – An elevated perspective looking up the Monumental Approach from the Maritime Terminal. The buildings appear as a bland complex, not intruding on the view of the mountain. (Bernard Cooke, 1947 Plan) .....	72
Figure 45 – A sketch of the model citizens of the new city, gazing up Adderley Street to the harbour, admiring the smooth flow of traffic along the wide boulevards. (Roy Kantorowich, 1947 Plan) .....	72
Figure 46 – A clear Modernist tool of zoning – the Foreshore was divided into specific functional areas, rather than mixed-use areas. Zoning would also allow control of height and setbacks. (1947 Plan) .....	73
Figure 47 – The complex nature of land ownership on the Foreshore – the narrow strip on the left represents land under the City Council’s control, while the rest is land controlled by SAR&H. (1947 Plan) .....	73
Figure 48 – The Royal Visit of 1947, a significant moment of South African loyalism to the British Empire – a sentiment that would be eclipsed by Afrikaner Republicanism. The terminal of Adderley Street in the state of Van Riebeeck, where the municipal pier once was, highlights the old ceremonial approach from the sea. (Mayor’s Minutes 1947) .....	75
Figure 49 – Passenger numbers stagnate during the inter-war years, with small spikes and dips throughout the 50s and 60s. The reports unfortunately do not offer statistics for individual ports. (SAR&H-ARGM 1930-1970) .....	77
Figure 50 – The exponential growth in air passengers number is particularly evident in the mid-60s. Unfortunately, the reports do not differentiate between embarking and disembarking passengers, making it difficult to estimate when air passengers overtook ocean passengers, but this does appear likely by 1951 (SAR&H-ARGM 1930-1970) .....	77
Figure 51 – The modifications to the 1947 Plan are seen in the new curving lines of Boulevard East and West. The new Ring Road clearly frames the city, while the area around the Castle is still an imagined park space. At the far right is the oval shape of the proposed stadium, a component of the proposed sports	

complex on the Greenpoint Common. This was sited here as a suitable terminal feature for Boulevard West. (MoT 1951) .....	79
Figure 52 – The south arm of the Ring Road, cutting through the Company Gardens under Government Avenue. (MoT 1951).....	80
Figure 53 – The new model constructed by the City Engineer’s Department that more accurately reflected the contours of the landscape – emphasising Morris’ point about appropriate gradients for roads. (MoT 1951) .....	81
Figure 54 – The formal Monumental Approach Gardens with water features, leading up to the central tower of the Civic Centre complex. To the left of the Civic Centre is a proposed Opera House , while to the right is the proposed Riebeeck Hotel (both were from the 1947 Plan). The new shopping district, Adderley Place, is framed by two uniform towers that dominate the terminal of Hertzog Boulevard and the Heerengracht. A civic plaza in front of the Civic Centre is more in keeping with the Beaudouin’s 1940 proposal. The form of the Civic Centre is more a feature of Art Deco style architecture, rather than the Modernist wedges and towers that would emerge on the Foreshore. (MoT 1951) .....	83
Figure 55 – A 100,000 seater stadium that was constructed on the Monumental Approach Gardens site, while the newly completed Goods Yard sheds housed the festival exhibits. (From a scan of the Official Festival Programme, 1952, <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/4530180973/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/4530180973/</a> , accessed 10-01-2013) .....	85
Figure 56 – The statue of Van Riebeeck evocatively framed by a towering clutch of skyscrapers, with the words ‘300 years of progress’ and ‘we build a nation’ clear references to a modern nationalist framing of history. (Scan of ‘Official Commemorative Envelope’ from the Van Riebeeck Festival, accessed from bidorbuy.co.za, 10-01-2013) .....	86
Figure 57 – Formal processions in the stadium of the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952, with Devil’s Peak as a backdrop. ( <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2201902214/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2201902214/</a> , accessed 10-01-2013) .....	86
Figure 58 – Idealised landscapes, with separate plaza spaces for people. Neat, geometric lines embodying a Modernist preference for clean, uncluttered forms. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956).....	88
Figure 59 – A universal landscape, nothing about it signifying a unique context. Pavements are wide, overhead wires are gone, and density is low. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956) .....	89
Figure 60 – The first perspective of the Civic Centre tower perpendicular to Hertzog Boulevard, allowing for a monumental approach that is landscaped, and which affords clear views of City Hall and the mountain from the Maritime Terminal. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956) .....	90
Figure 61 – The Maritime Terminal forming the important connection with the sea and one of the terminal features of the Monumental Approach. The building is a clear nod to Modernist masters such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, with a massive rectangular slab supported on pillars and glass curtain walls. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956) .....	90
Figure 62 – The neat, orderly city, typical of Modernist visions. Buildings are uniform, producing even backdrops to civic plazas with neat, orderly landscaping. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956) ..	92
Figure 63 - The new buildings along the Heerengracht, uniform in height and facade (Mayor’s Minutes 1959)	94
Figure 64 – The towering Sanlam building ( <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/5992960097/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/5992960097/</a> , accessed 10-01-2013) .....	96
Figure 65 – There is a clear initial enthusiasm in building operations in the 1950s, which slumps in the early 1960s, and only just recovers at the end of the decade. (CTFB-AR 1951-1970).....	97
Figure 66 – Sales of land decrease noticeably by the end of the 1950s (CTFB-AR 1951-1960).....	98
Figure 67 – 1962 and 1965 were particularly dire years for sales, though the end of the decade sales have picked up – reflecting the enthusiasm felt through the relaxing of height restrictions. This chart was separate to reflect the change of currency in 1961. (CTFB-AR 1961-1970).....	98
Figure 68 – (left) The proposed Trust Bank Building, as it was eventually built (Mayor’s Minutes 1967) .....	100
Figure 69 – (right) The Seagram Building by Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson, 1958 ( <a href="http://peter.bourgon.org">peter.bourgon.org</a> , accessed 10-01-2013) .....	100

Figure 70 – A view of the Grand Parade and completed Cape Town Station, looking over the station deck to the harbour. (Store photos in the UCT Built Environment Library, 1966).....	101
Figure 71 – The 1947 Plan proposal for the Old Station site – an open public plaza linked to the Grand Parade and the Station Deck (1947 Plan).....	102
Figure 72 – A low perspective emphasising the powerful figure of the central tower. (Mayor’s Minutes, 1969) .....	103
Figure 73 – The Golden Acre in its final form. The original perspective of sides open to Stand Street was replaced by blank, featureless walls, while the podium block created an insulated shopping mall that cut off Castle Street. ( <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2974447910/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2974447910/</a> , accessed 10-01-2013) .....	103
Figure 74 – Boulevard East under construction, cutting through the neighbourhoods of District Six (right) and Woodstock (left). The cleared site in the bottom right is the old Municipal Market. (ARCE 1967).....	105
Figure 75 – The site finally selected for the Civic Centre. To the right of it was the site originally earmarked for the Station Hotel. (Mayor’s Minutes 1963) .....	107
Figure 76 – The final proposed form of the Civic Centre complex, straddling Hertzog Boulevard, with the new Table Bay flyovers (Honikman, <i>Cape Town, City of Good Hope</i> , 1966).....	108
Figure 77 – The Artscape Theatre (renamed from Nico Malan post-1994), with the Civic Centre on the right (Author photo, 2012) .....	109
Figure 78 – The imposing wedge of the Administrative Tower, with the bulky Council Chamber podium block to its right. The deck spanning Hertzog Boulevard in the centre provides a connection to the equally imposing Nico Malan Theatre. The ground perspective adds to the grandeur of the tower block, though possibly also seeks to give an impression of the area for pedestrians. ....	110
Figure 79 – The Table Bay Power Station; a significant barrier to the Foreshore’s development. (Store photo in the UCT Built Environment Library, 1966) .....	112
Figure 80 – The raised, multi-level highway over Hertzog Boulevard. The Heerengracht is also reduced in width, with greater park space made available. (Cape Town 66, 1966) .....	119



## Acknowledgements

First and foremost I must give the greatest thanks to my father, mother and sister. Without their constant love and encouragement this thesis would not have been possible. I would also not have survived were it not for the support of all my friends, who have stuck by me during these arduous years. The support of my fellow postgraduates has also been invaluable.

I received wonderful help and support during my research on campus, and I must profusely thank the staff of the African Studies Library (Sandy, Sue, Busi, Allegra, Beth, Tanya, Collin and Belinda), Government Publications (Laureen, Hajiera and Yasmin), and Elena of the Built Environment Library. David Hart of the Cape Town Environmental & Heritage Management Branch deserves a great thank-you for granting me access to the Cape Town Municipal Library, while at the Library of Parliament Dalene Hösch was incredibly helpful.

Stewart Harris was a wonderful repository of insight into Cape architecture, an endless source of tea, and a fabulous companion on our many tours of the city. Professor Todeschini provided invaluable advice on the structuring of this thesis, without which it would have been considerably poorer. I am indebted to Kerry Mauchline for her significant contribution in identifying my research focus. Thanks must also go to Sue Parnell for her constant words of encouragement.

My thanks to the University of Cape Town for awarding me scholarships during my masters, without which this degree would not have been possible. I am grateful to Paula Foley for helping me to navigate the Postgraduate Funding Office.

To my supervisor, Vivian Bickford-Smith, my eternal gratitude for his advice, enthusiasm, patience and insightful comments. Nigel Penn and Anna Tietze, who provided wonderful learning and scholarship through their courses, also enriched a significant component of my degree. My thanks also go to the team at HUMA, who provided wonderfully stimulating seminars that kept my brain nourished throughout masters.

And with me right at the end, my most profound gratitude to Lena and Robin, for your invaluable edits and commentary on this thesis.

## Introduction

The impression of Cape Town's<sup>1</sup> Foreshore is not an overwhelmingly positive one. Despite recent developments such as the integration of the new Bus Rapid Transport system into the district, the area is criticised for its barren, windswept nature and alienating architecture which does little to attract people. The buildings are temporary hosts for workers during the day, who quickly abandon them after hours for the comfort of the suburbs. It has not enjoyed significant development nor does it rank as a pre-eminent destination for visitors to the city. Most people have a transient experience of it, passing by on the raised Table Bay Boulevard flyovers as they travel to the Waterfront or the city's western districts. It sits uncomfortably wedged between the unsightly docks area and the railways, which create a significant barrier between the Foreshore and the old city centre.

Conventional accounts of the state of the Foreshore<sup>2</sup> lay the blame on the shoulders of city administrators and planners from the mid-twentieth century. The traditional narrative is that in 1936 the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H)<sup>3</sup> undertook a massive land reclamation scheme on the Foreshore of Cape Town in order to construct a new harbour to accommodate rapidly-expanding harbour traffic. Disputes between the City Council and SAR&H Administration over what to do with the reclaimed land resulted in two separate teams of experts appointed by each authority, who produced two fairly similar plans. Further disputes over the siting of the railway station were settled in a committee in 1945, and a final plan was produced in 1947<sup>4</sup>. The 1947 Plan was a clear product of Modernist utopian town planning and held a grand, visionary future for the city. It envisioned gleaming, geometric Modernist buildings, surrounded by beautiful green park spaces and wide roads accommodating bustling traffic. This spirit of a progressive futurism was echoed in the title of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Cape Town was named Capetown for the early twentieth century, when the Corporation of the City of Capetown was formalised in the late 1890s. A resolution in Council of 1940 officially brought the name to its current double-word status, a seemingly more respectable label. To avoid confusion, this thesis will employ the current usage.

<sup>2</sup> Such as Don Pinnock, 'Ideology and Urban Planning: Blueprints of a garrison city' in Wilmot G. James & Mary Simons (eds), *The Angry Divide: Social and economic history of the Western Cape* (Cape Town, 1989), and Susan de Villiers, *A Tale of Three Cities* (Cape Town, 1985)

<sup>3</sup> A massive state company formed out of the merger of the various provincial and republican railway companies and harbour boards in 1910.

<sup>4</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan: final report of the Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, June 1947* (Pretoria, 1948), hereafter referred to as the '1947 Plan'.

next major report - the 1951 *Metropolis of Tomorrow*<sup>5</sup>. One of the most dramatic features of both reports was a grand boulevard cutting through the working class districts of Woodstock and District Six, joining the city centre to the southern suburbs. Such a plan was a clear product of the segregationist planning of the apartheid regime in South Africa, whose co-option of radical European notions of town planning tainted the practice considerably.



**Figure 1** – The eastern ‘lost highways’ of the Table Bay flyovers (Google Street View, accessed from [maps.google.co.za](https://maps.google.co.za) on 08-02-2013)

Development on the Foreshore, however, did not match the grand visions of the plans. The new buildings were drab and featureless. The wide roads and spaces between buildings offered no shelter for pedestrians from the Cape weather (which includes extreme wind, rain and sun). The initial enthusiasm of developers quickly dried up, and the area was left largely untouched for many years - only later in the 1970s were the Brutalist<sup>6</sup> Civic Centre and Nico Malan Theatre<sup>7</sup> completed. The association of this building style with the brutal, authoritarian regimes of the twentieth century would be an enduring legacy in the popular imagination. The connection with the sea that the city and its residents enjoyed for most of its history was now severed by the new harbour development,

---

<sup>5</sup> Solomon Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of tomorrow" - a development plan for the central city and foreshore areas* (Cape Town, 1951), hereafter referred to as the ‘MoT’.

<sup>6</sup> A style of architecture that used bulky massing and hard surface textures, often with raw, undressed concrete. From the French term *béton brut* (raw concrete).

<sup>7</sup> Named for then Administrator of the Cape Province, Nicolas ‘Nico’ Malan. It was renamed in the post-apartheid context to the Artscape Theatre.

and further compounded by the extension of the grand boulevard onto the Foreshore in the form of raised flyovers. The principle agent of the flyovers was the City Engineer, Solomon 'Solly' Morris, who stands in history as a villain of the story. His attempts to drive the flyovers into the city's historic western district brought about such opposition that the plans were ultimately scrapped, leaving the city with the infamous legacy of the 'lost highways' (see Figure 1). Thus in this narrative, the Foreshore represents the failure of Modernist town planning and architecture, an experiment of the twentieth century that now stands as an example of how not to go about producing a city.

This thesis is a response to the views outlined above; an attempt to shed new light on this period of Cape Town's history, and possibly inform future development. It begins by asking a simple question: why does Cape Town's city centre look the way it does? In order to unpack this point of inquiry, one invariably has to look to find who the primary decision-makers were, and what their motivations were. This of course has to be grounded in a thorough understanding of the context in which they were operating.

This thesis attempts to fill a lacuna in the histories of Cape Town, for which no comprehensive, in-depth narrative of the city centre over a significant period of time exists. Works that also touch on the subject will be shown to be supporting the conventional narrative outlined above, which lacks international context and a comprehensive examination of the various forces in play. Others will be singled out for their reliance on a critique of Modernist town planning that attributed too much to the Corbusian tradition. In this manner, the thesis will hopefully contribute towards the literature on Cape and South African urban and planning history. It will attempt an extensive synthesis of existing sources and an examination of all the actors involved.

The argument that this thesis posits is that the contemporary form of much of central Cape Town largely emerged out of the period of study, and was a result of the constant tensions and negotiations between local, provincial and national authorities. This in turn revealed much about the contested visions of the city, particularly on the part of the local Cape elite. These were influenced by British and American ideas around town planning and architecture, which were negotiated into a local context, and employed by a variety of actors that came from both local and international contexts, thus highlighting a particularly transnational element. To understand the complexity of the different forces at play and varied outcomes of the different committees, this thesis will provide a

detailed empirical study of the debates and the proposed plans and visions that arose – particularly the variety of plans that show what ‘might have been’. It also presents Cape Town as a unique case study in planning history, of a major portion of the city being planned ‘from scratch’ and integrated with the old, as opposed to cities that are planned from completely new ground, or after extensive damage (such as the post-World War 2 reconstruction of many British and European cities). Through the particular South African context of the time, the space of the Foreshore became layered with a political ideology that affirmed white South African ownership of the space and marked the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and capital. This ‘Afrikanerisation’ of the Foreshore will be shown in the various commemorative events, naming practices, monuments and buildings that arose on this contested space.

## Literature survey

Given that this study focuses on the perceived rise and fall of Modernist planning in Cape Town, Simon Gunn’s survey of Modernist planning in Bradford over a similar period serves as an excellent comparative case study<sup>8</sup>. ‘The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism’ identifies the prevalence of Modernist ideas around planning as belonging to a tradition of ‘urban modernism’ in Britain, though the principles that oversaw post-war developments were often far-removed from their original thinkers: “Diluted and vulgarised they may have been, yet the principles that guided Bradford’s postwar reconstruction were recognisably modernist in inspiration.”<sup>9</sup> The prevalence of British ideas of town planning and architecture in South Africa make this particularly poignant, as it closely mirrors the example of Cape Town. Gunn continues that: “They included the partition of the city into distinct functional zones, including the hierarchical division of centre and periphery; the conception of planning as an objective, neutral, and rational exercise; and perhaps above all, the belief in the modern as the guarantor of efficiency, progress and human satisfaction.”<sup>10</sup> He highlights the modernism captured in Bradford’s planning as not belonging to the high Modernist canon of Le Corbusier<sup>11</sup>, CIAM<sup>12</sup> and architectural Modernism, but rather to “banal urban modernism, based on

---

<sup>8</sup> Simon Gunn, ‘The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism: Planning Bradford, circa 1945-1970’, *Journal of British Studies*, 49, 4 (2010)

<sup>9</sup> Gunn, ‘The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism’, pg. 851-852

<sup>10</sup> Gunn, ‘The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism’, pg. 852

<sup>11</sup> Le Corbusier was one of the most prominent architects of the Modernist architectural canon, noted particular in town planning for the influential books *Urbanisme* (published 1925, translated into English as *The City of Tomorrow*

functionalism rather than iconic, a modernism of office blocks, urban motorways and car parks, not of landmark buildings.”<sup>13</sup> This observation seems quite appropriate in describing the modernism that was implemented in Cape Town, rather than the modernism that imagined it.

One of the most influential volumes on town planning in the western world is Peter Hall’s *Cities of Tomorrow*<sup>14</sup>. Hall very clearly demonstrates the transnational nature of twentieth-century town planning, and how ideas and visions of the city flowed along international networks. The internal debates, and contradictions in implementations are well-presented. The first half of the twentieth century is presented as a period of grand visions and dreams, of the power of humans to intervene in their environment to produce a better society. The likes of the Garden Cities movement are shown to be rooted in the radical ideology of the late nineteenth century, though their co-option by private capital and certain public authorities did not always produce the ideal outcomes of the early visionaries<sup>15</sup>. Such utopian visions influenced other major figures such as Patrick Geddes<sup>16</sup>, a significant contributor towards twentieth-century planning through his ideas of social surveys and integrated regional planning. These ideas in turn were circulated to various parts of the world through the rapidly-emerging professions of city engineers and town planners, via their professional journals and movements throughout the world (notably the British Colonial Office).

Hall also contrasts the visions of the ‘City of Monuments’ with the ‘City of Towers’<sup>17</sup>. The former belongs to the City Beautiful movement, an ideology concerned with the aesthetics of the city, and producing spaces that could inspire civic pride in the citizenry, thus elevating their sense of culture and civic responsibility. The work of Georges-Eugène Haussmann in the radical replanning of central Paris in the mid-nineteenth century was perhaps the most prominent example, and was typified by

---

*and its Planning* in 1929) and *La Ville Radieuse* (published 1935, translated as *The Radiant City*), and for his implementation of some of these ideals in the Indian city of Chandigarh in the 1950s.

<sup>12</sup> *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne* – International Congresses of Modern Architecture, responsible for drafting the Athens Charter following the 4th Congress in 1933, and published by Le Corbusier. It centred on the dominant ideology of the Functional City and significantly influenced post-war planning.

<sup>13</sup> Gunn, ‘The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism’, pg. 851

<sup>14</sup> Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An intellectual history of city planning in the twentieth century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford, 2002)

<sup>15</sup> Ebenezer Howard is credited as the founder of the Garden Cities movement, though Hall identifies its implementation largely as ‘Garden Suburbs’ – a perversion of Howard’s dream, even by former allies and noted planners such as Raymond Unwin. An implement of a ‘Garden Suburb’ in Cape Town can be seen at Pinelands, a 1920s realisation of the dreams of a prominent local businessman, Richard Stuttaford.

<sup>16</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of Geddes see Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London, 1990)

<sup>17</sup> Titles of two chapters in his book.

grand monumental axes and uniform building forms and facades, subjugating them to a grand master plan. Criticised for their monumentality and totalitarian vision favoured by monarchs<sup>18</sup>, dictators and other authoritarian regimes of the twentieth century<sup>19</sup>, the City Beautiful movement was also popular in more democratic societies. It was notably implemented in the state capitals of Washington and Canberra. It was seen to be particularly popular in America, and reached its height in the Chicago World Fair of 1893<sup>20</sup>. Another notable example is the colonial capital of New Delhi. These examples will demonstrate the influence of this movement on the planning of Cape Town.

For Hall, the 'City of Towers' is represented by the Modernist visions, typified by Le Corbusier and his Voisin Plan or Radiant City concept, and in the cities of Chandigarh and Brasilia. These were also criticised for their monumentality and totalitarianism, which built cities from new, often through the complete clearing of existing cities<sup>21</sup>. Unlike City Beautiful visions, Modernist visions prioritised technological innovation to produce the future city, emphasising the most advanced transport (the motor car) and building methods (vertical towers of glass and steel). However, this neat distinction by critics is problematic, for it ignores the significant exchange of ideas and convergence of influences between the different schools of thought. It will be demonstrated that in Cape Town, the town planners were clearly influenced by the City Beautiful movement in the production of space, but the buildings that would occupy and help define the space were Modernist in form. The modernism thus implemented on the Foreshore was the 'banal modernism' of Bradford that Gunn identifies, but given Cape Town's status as a capital city, was also highly influenced by the City Beautiful principles of grand, monumental civic design.

While Hall does account for the local and international debates around cities, he provides more of a broad account of these, without greater individual focus. However, John Gold provides this focus in an excellent account of the debates and practical involvement in planning the future city by architects in the twentieth century<sup>22</sup>. He draws particular attention to what he identifies as some of the 'Grand Narratives' associated with writings on architecture and cities, especially the popular

---

<sup>18</sup> Napoleon III was the instigator of Hausmann's reforms, which levelled massive city blocks.

<sup>19</sup> Nazi Germany and Communist governments in Europe

<sup>20</sup> William H Wilson, 'The Ideology, Aesthetics and Politics of the City Beautiful Movement' in Anthony Sutcliffe (ed), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914* (London, 1980)

<sup>21</sup> Le Corbusier's infamous 'surgical method', as advocated in *Urbanisme* (1925)

<sup>22</sup> John R. Gold, *The Experience of Modernism: Modern architects and the future city, 1928-53* (London, 1997) and *The Practice of Modernism: Modern architects and urban transformation, 1954-1972* (London, 2007)

criticisms of them. Delving into many of the localised debates, and understanding how these were negotiated with various authorities into built schemes, is crucial to understanding and evaluating Modernist town planning, an approach this thesis attempts to pick up on. While Gold does tend to focus on Britain, this is highly relevant given the prominence given to Britain in South Africa as an intellectual centre in the broader Empire, and the role of British planners and architects in planning the Foreshore.

Gold also provides an appraisal of the concept of 'utopia' as associated with 'utopian Modernist planning'<sup>23</sup>. Crucially, he argues that "the failure of utopian visions cannot be apportioned solely to the naïvety of planners and architects, but needs to be placed in the context of wider social, economic and political forces"<sup>24</sup>. He clearly distinguishes between 'ideal cities' and 'urban utopias' - the former being the vision of tyrants who produced monumentally grand schemes which emphasise the form of the city, and the latter which emphasises the solution of social problems through improved environments<sup>25</sup>. Urban utopian schemes can thus emphasise former golden ages, or futurist visions that emphasise the modern. They can employ grand architecture and monumental planning, but the outcome is clearly one of social transformation<sup>26</sup>. The term 'utopia' is one attributed to the Renaissance humanist, Thomas More. It forms part of literary tradition that envisions ideal societies, often as critiques of existing societies, but mostly as an impossible state to achieve.

It is the association of utopia with naïvety that forms part of the traditional critique of town planning. Matthew Hollow argues for the reclamation of the term 'utopian', associated with visions of future by planners in Britain in the 1940s and 50s which are seen as idealistic and aspirational, but were also channelled into schemes that "were at once both idealistic and pragmatic"<sup>27</sup>. He identifies two existing approaches: one which heavily disparages the "misguided naïvety and idealism of the period", seeing planners as out of touch with reality; and the other which downplays the idealism of the schemes and portrays the planners of the period as "down-to-earth workers rather than

---

<sup>23</sup> John R. Gold, 'Modernity and Utopia' in Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short (eds), *The SAGE Companion to the City* (London, 2008)

<sup>24</sup> Gold, 'Modernity and Utopia', pg. 67

<sup>25</sup> Gold, 'Modernity and Utopia', pg. 69

<sup>26</sup> Gold, 'Modernity and Utopia', pg. 69

<sup>27</sup> Matthew Hollow, 'Utopian Urges: Visions for reconstruction in Britain, 1940-1950', *Planning Perspectives*, 27, 4 (2012), pg. 569



visionary idealists”<sup>28</sup>. He argues strongly for the re-appraisal of utopianism as an analytical concept, and to investigate how “utopian projections - realisable or not - can function as potent aspirational projections through which the desires and ambitions of different social groups can be expressed”<sup>29</sup>. Of particular relevance to this thesis, is the emphasis placed by utopian visionaries and planners on public education, and thus adoption of their visions and schemes, one of the most effective and popular of which was the massive public exhibition<sup>30</sup>.

Three brief comparative examples that this thesis will draw on are the cities of Plymouth, Nairobi and Rio de Janeiro. All of these cities were the product of significant visions and planning schemes during the period under examination, and have close connections to the case of the Cape Town. Of significance to the post-war reconstruction and planning of Plymouth are the complicated networks that Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay draw attention to, networks which major actors drew upon to imagine and then implement the future city<sup>31</sup>. Crucially, they demonstrate that the complicated negotiations between various authorities can result in outcomes that differ significantly from the original vision and plan, a point that is particularly relevant to Cape Town. Rio de Janeiro has a less overt connection to Cape Town’s planning, but the influence of French architects operating in foreign contexts will be highlighted<sup>32</sup>.

Since this thesis is at heart an urban and planning history in a post-apartheid South African context, the point of departure is the challenge laid down in the 1995 article by Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin ‘*Rethinking Urban South Africa*’<sup>33</sup>. They identified the existing South African urban historiography as being too focused on race as a primary category of enquiry<sup>34</sup>. This was largely due to the work by liberal and revisionist scholars who sought to analyse the nature of racial segregation in South Africa and the apartheid state. This thesis is a direct response to their challenge to further investigate ‘history from above’ and the role of urban administrators and planners in urban history, as well as to probe the nature of international links, which would possibly undermine the case for ‘South African

---

<sup>28</sup> Hollow, ‘Utopian Urges’, pg. 569

<sup>29</sup> Hollow, ‘Utopian Urges’, pg. 570

<sup>30</sup> Hollow, ‘Utopian Urges’, pg. 574

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay, ‘Vision, Vested Interest and Pragmatism: Who re-made Britain blitzed cities?’, *Planning Perspectives*, 22, 4 (2007)

<sup>32</sup> Margareth da Silva Pereira, ‘The Time of the Capitals: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Words, Actors and Plans’ in Arturo Almandoz (ed), *Planning Latin America’s Capital Cities, 1850-1950* (New York, 2002)

<sup>33</sup> Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin, ‘Rethinking Urban South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995)

<sup>34</sup> A critique that this thesis does not attempt to refute.

exceptionalism' that seemed to exist in the literature of that time. They also did caution that planning should not purely been seen in the negative light of South African racial politics, but that planning could ultimately be for genuine social good (a focus more of post-apartheid planners). Parnell followed this up a year later with another call for greater investigation into the South African built environment<sup>35</sup>. While it is over fifteen years since they issued that challenge, it hopefully has not lost its urgency.

Vivian Bickford-Smith has noted a similar criticism stemming from an article by Paul Maylam in the same edition as Parnell and Mabin. Maylam identifies too many studies as being 'history-in-the-city' rather than 'of-the-city'<sup>36</sup>. While Bickford-Smith notes an encouraging flood of scholarship on South African cities post-1994 that attempt to be total histories, accounting for history from above and below, studies that focus on city planning and local authorities are still rare.

Town planning as a discrete subject does not enjoy extensive coverage in the South African literature. When discussed, it is mostly concerned with town planning and segregation - thus the focus is almost exclusively on housing. Little attention is paid to the planning of commercial city centres – a gap that is addressed in this thesis. One of the most important overviews of town planning in South Africa in the twentieth century is Alan Mabin and Daniel Smit's article, *Reconstructing South Africa's Cities*<sup>37</sup>, but little has been added to this in the 15 years since its publication. It largely builds on Smit's doctoral thesis<sup>38</sup>, informed by Mabin's work in historical urban geography. This article will provide the important context of the broader South African debates around town planning that influenced planning on Cape Town's Foreshore.

The most direct work written on town planning in Cape Town, which specifically deals with the Foreshore, is Don Pinnock's *Ideology and urban planning: Blueprints of a garrison city*<sup>39</sup>. It is Pinnock's analysis that this thesis will most directly challenge. Pinnock's work is very much situated

---

<sup>35</sup> Susan Parnell, 'The Built Environment: Neglected frontier of South African studies', *African Studies*, 55, 2 (1996)

<sup>36</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Urban History in the New South Africa: Continuity and innovation since the end of apartheid', *Urban History*, 35, 2 (2008)

<sup>37</sup> Alan Mabin and Daniel Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's Cities: The making of urban planning 1900-2000', *Planning Perspectives*, 12, 2 (1997)

<sup>38</sup> Daniel Petrus Smit, *The Political Economy of Urban and Regional Planning in South Africa, 1900 to 1988: Towards theory to guide progressive practice* (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1989)

<sup>39</sup> Pinnock, 'Ideology and Urban Planning'

in the radical revisionist tradition of South African urban historiography which sought to identify the origins of apartheid and explain its expansion in the twentieth century. While Pinnock begins with the Foreshore reclamation scheme and the subsequent development of its buildings and roads, he broadens his analysis to look at the planning of suburbs in Cape Town, and how the apartheid state used town planning to implement its strict segregation policies - a perversion of the utopian nature of early town planners. In trying to understand the visual forms employed by the planners of the Cape Town Foreshore, he identifies their vision as essentially Corbusian - employing Le Corbusier's chillingly totalitarian vision of the 'surgical method' to erase a section of city and rebuild a new city of gleaming geometric tower blocks<sup>40</sup>. While this might serve to illustrate the case of District Six's demolition, it does not fully account for the contemporary debates around town planning, nor does it give an account of the various actors involved in the planning - indeed Pinnock seems to completely misread the outcomes of the Szlumper Committee, and the decision to reclaim land in 1937 is regarded as a *fait accompli*. The diverse influence of foreign planners such as Beaudouin, Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson don't seem to influence Pinnock's account of the Foreshore.

The most comprehensive historical overview of the city is *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*<sup>41</sup>, a work that aimed at a more inclusive, social history of Cape Town. In this work, town planning appears more as a direct influence on housing - an indication of the focus of the literature to that point. Modernist town planning and its concern with zoning and functionalism is largely seen as going hand-in-hand with racial segregation, a concept lifted from the American 'city practical' movement that local planners were keener to emphasise<sup>42</sup>. The development of the Foreshore through Modernist notions of town planning follows the traditional narrative, concluding with a distinctly jaded view of the Foreshore's development which epitomises the conventional account: "The final result was an unhappy compromise. Broad boulevards cut the foreshore up into wind-blown stretches of asphalt and concrete, filled with car parks and roaring traffic, inaccessible to pedestrians."<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> As Le Corbusier advocated in *Urbanisme* and *La Ville Radieuse*. Such radical reconstruction was most seen as being widely embraced by authoritarian regimes such as the Soviet and Communist Chinese governments.

<sup>41</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* (Cape Town, 1999)

<sup>42</sup> Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, pg. 144

<sup>43</sup> Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, pg. 152

While town planning was undoubtedly a tool employed by technocrats of the era, the scope of this thesis does not allow for an analysis of planning beyond the central city. Since the central city is held as an area of commerce and civic space, there is almost no discussion of race in the archival material, a significant omission which will be dealt with in more detail below. It speaks to the normativity of whiteness that was so prevalent in official discourse, a subject that Nicholas Coetzer has addressed in his thesis on the production of the city (Cape Town) as a white space<sup>44</sup>. Here, the city is the space for official white discourses of power that seek to create a new South African identity and reform the city to cleanse it of 'undesirable' elements. Here, as in Andre van Graan's thesis<sup>45</sup>, town planning is employed as a Modernist tool influenced by the 'sanitation syndrome', to remove black and coloured people from the central city, reforming the 'unclean' and 'unhealthy' city.

Like Coetzer, Bickford-Smith also picks up on the popular construction of the city's image for the tourist gaze<sup>46</sup>, a collaboration between the city elite and the new Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, founded in 1908<sup>47</sup>. This image was cast as politically neutral, emphasising the city's natural beauty and removing any hint of social tension. It invoked the history of Cape Town as the 'Gateway to Africa' and the 'Mother City of South Africa'. These epithets have antecedents in the nineteenth-century, with European occupation legitimised as a civilising mission, bringing the 'ordering light' of Christianity to the 'dark and wild continent'. Both epithets were reproduced in tourist guides, newspaper articles and popular histories, ensuring constant reproduction in popular memory. It was to this image that many of the central features of the grand visions for Cape Town spoke to.

Bickford-Smith also speaks to the apparent invisibility of race during this period through a discussion of another traditional narrative - that of the Cape's 'special tradition of non-racialism'<sup>48</sup>. Rather, he argues, segregation did exist before 1948, though mostly through informal means that were then legally codified through the Nationalist government's actions. Many local politicians sought to

---

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas Robert Coetzer, *The Production of the City as a White Space: Representing and restructuring identity and architecture, Cape Town, 1892-1936* (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2003)

<sup>45</sup> Andre van Graan, *Negotiating Modernism in Cape Town: 1918-1948: An investigation into the introduction, contestation, negotiation and adaptation of modernism in the architecture of Cape Town* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2011)

<sup>46</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All'', *Urban Studies* 46, 9 (2009)

<sup>47</sup> John Shorten, *Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1963), pg. 154

<sup>48</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995)

continue the tradition of Cape Liberalism that eschewed overt racial prejudice, and the City Council had two prominent coloured members until 1951<sup>49</sup>, thus making overt racism an unlikely feature of official proceedings or reports.

Working in a similar radical revisionist vein to Pinnock, Linda Graaff<sup>50</sup> and Sharóne Tomer<sup>51</sup> represent the most contemporary writing on Cape Town by architects attempting to grapple with the post-apartheid city. With a good historical focus, their work is strongly underpinned by post-structuralist/neo-Marxist critiques of the city, particularly those of Henri Lefebvre. Themes of inclusion and exclusion are strong in both, representing an architectural approach to problematising Cape Town's urban fabric, thus preparing the ground for future interventions. While both are excellent studies, there are some issues with their use of sources: Graaff unfortunately leans heavily on Pinnock in her evaluation of town planning in Cape Town<sup>52</sup>, problematic for reasons previously discussed. Tomer likewise does not appear to have investigated the historical documents thoroughly, confusing the influences of the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* report with the Shand Committee report<sup>53</sup>. While these can be seen as minor points, this thesis will hopefully provide a stronger historical grounding for future architectural students. Naomi Barnett's thesis<sup>54</sup> similarly addresses the conflation of town planning with housing, criticising the city for its neglectful attitudes towards housing its non-white population, and for policies that ultimately led to the destruction of District Six.

Barnett, Pinnock, Graaff and Tomer were all echoing criticisms of Modernist town planning that have been most clearly articulated on an international level by the likes of David Harvey, James Scott and Jane Jacobs. Jacobs was the first to attack the heavy hand of urban administrators in forcing people out of existing areas and into those that were deemed 'better'. Her seminal text, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*<sup>55</sup>, published in 1961, remains quite relevant today. She attacked planners

---

<sup>49</sup> Dr Abdullah Abdurahman served from 1904 until his death in 1940, and his daughter, Zainunnisa "Cissie" Gool from 1938 to 1951

<sup>50</sup> Linda Graaff, *Re-presenting Cape Town through Landscapes of Social Identity and Exclusion: An interpretation of three power shifts and their modifications from 1652-1994* (MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2008)

<sup>51</sup> Sharóne Tomer, *Examining a Boundary: Spatial manifestations of social practice along the Buitengracht, Cape Town, 1652 - 2005* (MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2006)

<sup>52</sup> Graaff, *Re-presenting Cape Town*, pg. 110

<sup>53</sup> Tomer, *Examining a Boundary*, pg. 53

<sup>54</sup> Naomi Barnett, *Race, Housing and Town Planning in Cape Town 1920-1940, with special reference to District Six* (MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993)

<sup>55</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961)

(especially Robert Moses<sup>56</sup>) for their excessive focus on 'rationalist' policies that would produce orderly cities, but in fact seemed to ignore completely the needs of people, and destroy vibrant neighbourhoods. Harvey, a neo-Marxist, strongly influenced by Henri Lefebvre, provides a strong overview of the critiques of modernism, particularly identifiable in the case of cities. His *The Condition of Postmodernity*<sup>57</sup> aims to provide a critique of the emergence of postmodernity, which he identifies as emerging around 1972<sup>58</sup>, and thus begins with a thorough exploration of modernism and its problems. Scott presents a highly seductive argument concerning plans - usually from above - that have tried, in the minds of their authors, to better humankind, but which ultimately failed<sup>59</sup>. His examples of the High-Modernist Cities are extreme - Brazilia and Chandigarh - but lend weight to his argument that planning from above and employing theories from foreign contexts is inherently problematic. The solution he gives is to employ a form of localised knowledge - *metis* - that will better serve each unique context and ultimately produce better outcomes. He also identifies the tools of the modernist state - mapping, statistics and planning - as being essential to these grand visions.

As in the case of Robert Moses, the grand villain in Jacobs' account who wished to demolish her working class neighbourhood - Greenwich Village in New York - in order to make way for a highway, strong parallels can be drawn in Cape Town to Morris, the City Engineer who championed the great boulevard that resulted in demolitions in the working class neighbourhoods of Woodstock and District Six. Popular accounts have largely attributed the fault for the Table Bay flyovers to him, especially considering his public defence and subsequent defeat over their construction in the city's western district. To counter this view, this thesis argues that it is too simplistic to vilify Morris for his role in Cape Town's development, though he is not entirely innocent either. He was in charge of a department that rapidly increased from a general staff of about 300 to approximately 7000 during his period of office from 1950 to 1975. While all official reports would bear his name, they did not necessarily represent his sole personal view, as they would have been a product of a variety of technical experts working under him. They also represented the complex negotiations and

---

<sup>56</sup> Moses was a noted political administrator and planner, responsible for significant planning schemes and public infrastructure programmes that shaped New York City and the surrounding counties.

<sup>57</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989)

<sup>58</sup> It is significant to note that in 1975 the City Engineer's Department published *Cape Town, City for the People: A plan to improve the pedestrian environment of the central city*, which was a direct response to some of the criticisms by the likes of Jacobs that Modernist planning that was too narrowly focused on roads and buildings, and not enough on people.

<sup>59</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven, 1998)

compromises between the various authorities, and no doubt between the various factions on the City Council and Morris himself.

Morris, like most engineers of his time, placed a strong emphasis on the application of 'rational', 'scientific' knowledge in directing the activities of the City Engineer's Department. Such an emphasis was particular to Modernist discourses of the twentieth century – discourses strongly embraced by modern nation states and their bureaucracies. Deborah Posel has examined the early foundations of the apartheid state bureaucracy and its obsession with statistical record-taking - a key feature of the 'rationalist' modern state<sup>60</sup>. Statistics are but one of the tools of the modern state in identifying and solving 'problems' through rational means. She also cites the enthusiastic adoption of a particular tool - the official commission of inquiry, "with their aura of objectivity, independence and expertise"<sup>61</sup>. Town planners, architects and engineers were key advocates of scientific rationalism, and their advocacy for intervention in the physical world was grounded in these discourses. The official commission in this study frequently takes the form of the joint technical committee - an attempt to bring together various authorities in an apparently rational, apolitical and scientific approach to an identified 'problem'. Posel also identifies the shift from de-centralised authority in the early twentieth century, to an increasingly centralised state, particularly under the Nationalist government<sup>62</sup>. This overt concentration of power, particularly over allocation of resources, will be played out in the story of the Foreshore. Peter Wilkinson likewise identifies a shift towards a centralised state and its increasing emphasis post-war towards a unified approach to planning - through the singular agency of the Social and Economic Planning Council<sup>63</sup>. Including a strong focus on town and regional planning that mirrored developments in Europe, particularly Britain, he identifies the report as representing "a key moment in the articulation ... of a specifically 'modernist' discourse of spatial planning in South Africa"<sup>64</sup>.

---

<sup>60</sup> Deborah Posel, 'A Mania for Measurement: Statistics and statecraft in the transition to apartheid' in Saul Dubow (ed), *Science and Society in Southern Africa* (Manchester, 2000)

<sup>61</sup> Posel, 'A Mania for Measurement', pg. 121

<sup>62</sup> Posel, 'A Mania for Measurement', pg. 120

<sup>63</sup> Peter Wilkinson, 'A Discourse of Modernity: The Social and Economic Planning Council's Fifth Report on Regional and Town Planning, 1944', *African Studies*, 55, 5 (1996)

<sup>64</sup> Wilkinson, 'A Discourse of Modernity', pg. 141

The dovetailing between national identity and the production of 'scientific knowledge' is one Saul Dubow identifies as a particular aspect of the emerging white South African nation state<sup>65</sup>. He argues that in attempting to understand the new world around them, white settlers increasingly legitimised their claims to the land and political rule through Modernist discourses of science. The prevalence of labelling and naming, in natural sciences such as botany, biology or geography, is closely connected with the Enlightenment. Labelling and naming, associated with the 'Anglicisation of the Cape' during the nineteenth century where notions of Britishness and English identity became dominant, is one that Bickford-Smith has identified as under-researched<sup>66</sup>.

New regimes enforce their claims of political legitimacy through a process of naming of the physical environment. By applying labels and names of living politicians, co-opted national symbols, and historical figures that are central to their nationalist history to buildings, roads and geographical features, they imbue the landscape with political significance. The landscape that citizens of that nation experience on a daily basis is thus a constant re-inforcement of the political regime that rules them, giving greater credibility to the laws and rituals of the state. This act of naming will be particularly highlighted on the Foreshore as its reclamation and development co-incides with an ascendant white Afrikaner nation state, and through events such as the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival, contributed to the 'Afrikanerisation' of this space. Leslie Witz's detailed account of the Van Riebeeck Festival contributes significantly towards a richer spatial history of the Foreshore, as a significant cultural landscape of contested South African identity and politics<sup>67</sup>. However, not only names but also the built forms that they are inscribed on can be linked to a distinct political ideology. Melinda Silverman has made the argument that Modernist architecture was quickly embraced by Afrikaner capital as it symbolised the supposedly progressive nature of Afrikaner nationalism and provided a suitable reaction to the perceived British colonial nature of Classicist architecture<sup>68</sup>. This will be demonstrated by the likes of the Trust Bank and Sanlam towers on the Foreshore.

---

<sup>65</sup> Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, sensibility, and white South Africa, 1820-2000* (Cape Town, 2006)

<sup>66</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31, 2 (2003), pg. 89

<sup>67</sup> Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's national pasts* (Cape Town, 2003)

<sup>68</sup> Melinda Silverman, "'Ons bou vir die Bank': Nationalism, architecture and Volkskas Bank' in Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (eds), *Blank: Architecture, apartheid and after* (Cape Town, 1998)



This thesis will continuously draw attention to the significance of maps, drawings and diagrams in the planning, promotion and implementation of planning schemes. In doing so, it draws on the insights of social geographers who have severely criticised the notion of the map as a neutral representation of space. They draw attention to the fact that these physical, abstract representations of space are produced in a particular historical context, and reflect particular values. Maps are essentially a social construction of a certain reality<sup>69</sup>, a representation of the physical world through the ideologies of the cartographer<sup>70</sup>. Denis Wood expressed most succinctly that “power is the ability to do work. Which is what maps do: *they work*”<sup>71</sup>. Maps are produced to serve a specific function, a function that is related to an ideology that is concerned with some form of power. Thus maps can reflect values such as ethnicity, social class, religion and politics<sup>72</sup>. By producing knowledge of space and disseminating that knowledge through pictorial representation (using accepted cultural codes and symbols), one can affirm ownership. The exertion of power implicit in that act cannot be ignored. Maps in this way justify territorial possession<sup>73</sup> and thus bolster the political legitimacy of regimes that seek to administer that territory.

To Harley, the social context of European cartography becomes a metaphor for the social structure of landed property<sup>74</sup>. As he put it: “to catalogue the world is to appropriate it”<sup>75</sup> - as states extended their influence both internally and abroad, they would require ‘accurate’ maps and, just as importantly, the most ‘reliable’ statistics. Through surveying and mapping, land becomes converted into territory; it is “accessed, inhabited and possessed”<sup>76</sup>. This can be seen in the actions of technocrats such as City Engineers and Town Planners, to advocate for and ultimately implement interventions in the landscape. However, maps and diagrams can also be significant representations of the aspirations of a certain cultural group (such as the Cape elite) – reflecting their existing attitudes towards places (often problematizing), and the dreams for improvement of such places. These ‘utopian’ visions will form a key component of this thesis; as reflections of particular social values and political ideologies.

---

<sup>69</sup> Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London, 1992), pg. 18

<sup>70</sup> John Harley, ‘Deconstructing the Map’ in Trevor Barnes and James Duncan (eds), *Writing worlds: Discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape* (London, 1992). pg. 236

<sup>71</sup> Wood, *The Power of Maps*, pg. 1

<sup>72</sup> Harley, ‘Deconstructing the Map’, pg. 236

<sup>73</sup> Ian Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British mapping in India, c.1756-1905* (New Delhi, 2003), pg. 2

<sup>74</sup> Harley, *Deconstructing the Map*, pg. 242

<sup>75</sup> Harley, *Deconstructing the Map*, pg. 245

<sup>76</sup> Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory*, pg. 13-4

## Discussion of sources

A heavy emphasis of this study will be the use of visual sources, such as maps and perspective drawings. These will be extensively used as a reflection of their role as tools of the actors involved, and representations of the particular worldview of 'urban modernism'<sup>77</sup> that was prevalent. They will be shown as unique representations of space that are significant as they were employed to gather support from the public and civic authorities<sup>78</sup>, and ground proposed intervention in the physical world. Of particular significance will be the number of unrealised schemes, or those that were the precursor to later, modified schemes. These will be shown to lend greater context to the plans that were finally used, to show that there were debated and contested visions of the city that various actors employed.

Particularly useful have been the Mayor's Minutes<sup>79</sup>, presented by the Mayor of Cape Town to the City Council as an annual report of the Council's activities and expenditure. Naturally this document would be aware of its circulation to the media and public, and thus would attempt to portray the Council in the best, most responsible light possible. The Mayor's Minutes are also the executive summary of the Minutes and Proceedings of the Cape Town City Council, which provide a far more detailed record of the various debates and committees of the Council (though for time and convenience weren't considered). Included in the Mayor's Minutes until 1953 was the Annual Report of the City Engineer, after which they were published separately. The most prominent City Engineer of the twentieth century was Solomon Morris, who also was responsible for a considerable number of official reports on special topics, in addition to the annual City Engineer's Report (to what degree he was responsible for the entire contents of these reports is unknown, he doubtlessly had assistants, and most reports would have been the collaborative effort of a few individuals). Morris was a prolific writer and speaker, and his various speeches and articles have survived in UCT's African Studies Collection, and the Municipal Library. He seemed anxious to ensure that his work reached official libraries, even publishing a list of libraries around the world that contained his works<sup>80</sup>.

---

<sup>77</sup> As argued by Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism'

<sup>78</sup> Identified by Hollow, 'Utopian Urges', as a key marker of utopian visions at this time, and in Essex and Brayshay's analysis of Plymouth; 'Vision, Vested Interest and Pragmatism'.

<sup>79</sup> Officially titled *Minute of His Worship the Mayor*, referred to here as Mayor's Minutes.

<sup>80</sup> Solomon Morris, *Schedules of Some Published Works* (Cape Town, 1958)

On a national level the Annual Report of the General Manager of Railways and Harbours is the equivalent for South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H). Unlike the City Council, its interests were national, and at this level one can perceive local interests being subjugated in favour of national interests. As a national body, this report would have been tabled in Parliament to account for the expenditure of public funds. Also tabled in Parliament but operating at the local level is the Annual Report of the Cape Town Foreshore Board. Formed from the Cape Town Foreshore Act of 1950, the Board was responsible for administering the Foreshore under the power-sharing agreement that emerged in the 1947 Plan. As an account of its financial affairs and important decisions, it exists more as an executive summary and doesn't contain the debates or day-to-day practices of the Board. Executive summaries tend to be the driest of records and most likely to reproduce official power as they very carefully include and exclude information.

The accessibility of these records was fortunately excellent, as they exist for public record. The Mayor's Minutes and General Manager's Reports are all in UCT's Government Publications Department, while the Foreshore Board reports are in the Library of Parliament. The Minutes and Proceedings of Council are held in the Cape Town Municipal Library, which along with the entire library were placed in poor storage under a previous administration. Fortunately, these have been rescued by the City's Environmental and Heritage Management Branch, and are in the process of being made more available to the public. The Municipal Library is also of significance for it contains the library of the City Engineer's Department, a department which no longer exists, but which was particularly active and instrumental in the period under focus.

To get a sense of the debate around town planning the various journals of architects in South Africa were examined in order to find discussions around Modernism and the built environment. These were fortunately available through UCT's Built Environment Library. In relatively small professional circles, the journals examined were divided practically and somewhat ideologically along provincial lines. There appeared a conceptual divide between the Cape and the Transvaal, with the former appearing more conservative and the latter following a more avant-garde approach. This is by no means a universal distinction, for they had many similarities, and depending on the editors, would diverge and converge at times. The *Architect, Builder and Engineer*, published by members of the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects (though not in opposition to the organisation's official journal, *Kalendar*), began in the early twentieth century, and lasted until World War 2. Its post-war

incarnation as the new *Architect and Engineer* (1951- ) was published by its editor, Laurie Wale, though with approval of the CPIA. The *South African Architectural Record* (a local variation of the famous RIBA Architectural Record) was published under the Transvaal Institute of Architects, and continued throughout the entire period of study. This journal was highly influenced by the more avant-garde elements at the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand. However, under Wale, the former distinction between the two journals mostly vanished. As professional trade journals, they covered local building news, professional debates, profiled new buildings (local and international), and discussed legal issues such as professional registration and the various laws concerning town planning, building regulation etc. The SAAR certainly highlighted architecture's traditional position as a branch of fine art through its cover of various debates in art circles and coverage of local art events. Wale emphasised the constant overlap between design and trade in architecture, himself the proprietor of the South African Building Centre in Cape Town. All journals relied on advertising from various suppliers in the building trade. These journals were all available in the Built Environment Library at UCT.

While it was not feasible to examine the entire contents of three local daily newspapers for the period under study, UCT's Special Collections Library contains a very helpful assembly of newspaper clippings – the MacMillan Collection – that focused on the Foreshore.

## Chapter breakdown

The first chapter of this thesis outlines the state of the Foreshore's development up to the start of this study period. It demonstrates that a negative view of this development - particularly the fact that the railways created a barrier between the town and the sea - motivates the numerous plans and 'utopian' schemes examined. These in turn reflect the tensions existing between local (Cape Town City Council) and national (South African Railways and Harbour or SAR&H) authorities, tensions that will be a continuous theme throughout this thesis. The debates over the railways and the Foreshore will also be discussed in terms of Cape Town harbour development, particularly the decision to construct a massive new harbour, and in doing so reclaim nearly 2 square kilometres of land. The 'utopian' schemes will also be placed in the context of the emergence of town planning as a formal discipline in South Africa. This will be framed in terms of the public debates and lobbying by

professional groups that led to the adoption of formal legislation. It is significant as this created the legal framework through which the 'utopian' schemes of the time were brought into reality. The significance of the 1938 Town Planning Congress will be examined as it represents a crystallisation of these debates and academic influences around town planning as a discipline in South Africa, and highlights the pinnacle of the Corbusian tradition in the country. The Congress will also set the context for the schemes discussed in the following chapter, and their distinct Modernist character.

The second chapter examines the continued tensions between the City Council and SAR&H, as their two separate teams of experts prepare schemes for the newly reclaimed land. It will be shown that the work of the City Council's expert, Eugene Beaudouin, is particularly significant, for it lays the foundations for the Foreshore's eventual layout. Both teams will be shown to be operating within the City Beautiful tradition of town planning – a tradition that will be emphasised through examples of international schemes for city centres of new and existing cities, of which one of the experts for SAR&H, Professor Thornton White, had a direct hand in. The City Beautiful movement appears to have been co-opted into Modernist town planning principles, while the built form of structures followed more the High Modernist, Corbusian tradition. The central concept of both teams' schemes was the Monumental Approach, an implementation of the popular image of Cape Town as the 'Gateway to South Africa' with the City Beautiful tradition that emphasised grand axes and civic spaces. The tensions between the City Council and SAR&H continued until being largely resolved through a compromise (on the City Council's part) that resulted in what became known as the '1947 Plan'. This plan will be examined in detail to understand the significance of its design, a design that was a crystallisation of national and transnational ideas of town planning and architecture.

The third chapter begins by examining the first, and significant, divergence from the 1947 Plan in the form of the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* (MoT) Report. This represented a shift from the idealised, 'utopian' visions of the architects who designed the 1947 Plan, to subsequent pragmatic implementation by engineers (though both are distinctly Modernist in nature). This takes place in the context of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, which plays out through the increasing 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore. This process was initiated by the Van Riebeeck Festival of 1952, a significant moment of white South African triumphalism. The Van Riebeeck Festival neatly dovetailed the concept of the Foreshore as the 'Gateway to South Africa' with the teleological framing of Afrikaner Nationalist history that placed an emphasis on van Riebeeck as the 'founding

father' of the South African nation. This process of Afrikanerisation will be shown to have been facilitated by, and subsequently continued, because of the establishment of a Foreshore Board: a body that controlled the development of the Foreshore, but which was in effect controlled by central government because the latter appointed the majority of its members. This chapter will also examine one of the last examples of architects' visions for Cape Town that took the form of the "Cape Town, Your City" exhibition of 1956. This exhibition would capture the spirit of post-war optimistic futurism, and seek to give visual representation to the 'utopianism' of the 1947 Plan and the MoT – representations that were undoubtedly Modernist in form and principle.

Chapter four will examine the debates and decisions around the distinct built environment on the Foreshore: the office blocks, skyscrapers, ring roads, flyovers, theatre and Civic Centre. These will be shown in the context of an extension of the 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore as the South African economy boomed in the 1960s, and as Afrikaner capital exerted a strong influence on urban development. The decisions around the controversial Table Bay flyovers will be examined in detail to understand how the constant tension between the City Council (local), Provincial Administration (provincial), and SAR&H (national) played out and resulted in their final form – that of the massive barriers between the city and the sea, and of the infamous 'lost highways'.

## CHAPTER 1 : Visions for the Foreshore

Visions and 'utopian' schemes for Cape Town emerged out of negative perceptions of the development of Cape Town's Foreshore. These were chiefly concerned with the position of the railway Passenger Station, Goods Yard and dock line that appeared to sever the city from the sea, but were also concerned with creating a cityscape that would generate concepts of 'civic pride', and provide improved road networks to solve rapidly growing traffic congestion in the city. However, grand visions had to be met by pragmatic realities, and the debates between the visions and realities would reflect continuing contestations and negotiations between the Cape Town City Council and the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H). These visions of an 'beautified' and 'orderly' city were informed by debates around town planning – debates and lobbying which led to the adoption of formal legislation that would later enable intervention in the landscape through Modernist discourses of 'progress'. These debates would crystallise in the 1938 Town Planning Congress, which highlighted the influence of the Corbusian tradition in South Africa, and the effect this would later have on the Foreshore's planning.

### Existing development on the Foreshore

The massive increase in shipping to the Cape, brought on by World War 1 gave increased impetus to the need for expanded harbour facilities. The existing Alfred Basin was now nearly seventy years old<sup>81</sup>, and subsequent upgrades and extensions (such as the Victoria Basin in 1905<sup>82</sup>) had been on an ad hoc basis, but were never really able to keep pace with both the volume and physical size of twentieth-century ships. From the 1840s the Cape elite began to lobby strongly for the development of the Cape economy through government spending on transport infrastructure such as roads and harbours. This lobbying employed a Modernist discourse of 'progress'; one which conflated social and political 'progress' with economic development<sup>83</sup>. Nearly one hundred years later, this discourse was still apparent: the local elite (often through the City Council) continued to lobby for

---

<sup>81</sup> Having been inaugurated by Prince Albert in 1860.

<sup>82</sup> Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town, 1998), pg. 168

<sup>83</sup> For further details of this see Nicholas Botha, *Roads to Reform: Public perceptions of convicts and convict labour in the Cape Colony and Eastern Province, 1840-48* (BA(Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011)

the increased development of the harbour and road networks, concerned that the 'progress' of the city would be arrested if these vital components were not developed to 'modern standards'.

Prior to Union in 1910, the Table Bay Harbour had been under the supervision of the Table Bay Harbour Board (comprised largely of the Cape elite, many of whom also served on the City Council). The amalgamation of the four provinces in 1910 also brought about the amalgamation of their various harbour boards and railway companies, to form the SAR&H. The focus was no longer on promoting individual ports (according to the aspirations of local elites), but rather co-ordinating a national system that would emphasise efficiency and focus on regional specialisation. Under this logic the bulk of development would be focused on the Durban Harbour, which was closest to the economic centre of the South African economy; the Witwatersrand. Despite Cape Town being the exit port for the country's gold supply, SAR&H chose to focus on the Cape's dominant industries - that of fishing and fruit - to direct development. Modern refrigeration technologies would be responsible for a massive increase in the Cape's deciduous fruit exports, and would see the harbour area dominated by cooling sheds.

Cape Town's first railway was inaugurated in 1862, and the first formal railway station completed in 1875<sup>84</sup>. The only available space in Cape Town for railway lines was in front of the Castle - a development that would have significant ramifications for the Foreshore's development in the twentieth century. The station had been given a prominent position - fronting onto Adderley Street<sup>85</sup>, the main road in Cape Town and the site of Cape Town's commerce. In 1913, it was given further prominence through the construction of a municipal pleasure pier<sup>86</sup> (similar to seaside developments in Britain and America), creating the effect of a grand entrance to the city from the sea. A statue of Jan van Riebeeck, portrayed in white South African nationalist discourse as a 'founding father of the nation', was built by the pier, at the sea-end of Adderley Street, invoking a ceremonial entrance of 'civilised' settlement in South Africa.

---

<sup>84</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town*, pg. 162-163

<sup>85</sup> Named for a British politician who had lend significant support to the Cape elite's claims for self-governance in the late 1840s. This naming reflected a new emerging political ideology – that of Cape self-rule through direct representation.

<sup>86</sup> Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, pg. 41



The rapid growth of railway lines into the interior, following the Mineral Revolution, saw the Cape Town Railway & Dock Company expand its position on the Foreshore through the reclamation of land in front of the Castle - some 125 acres were reclaimed between 1846 to 1917<sup>87</sup> (reclaimed land was controversially appropriated without compensation by the government for the Goods Yard in 1875<sup>88</sup>). This had the effect of creating a large railway yard for goods and passenger trains that occupied a significant amount of space between the city and the waterfront (See Figure 2). Connecting lines to the Alfred Basin furthered a sense of disconnection from the sea - something the Pier sought to remedy. It was this surrender of the beachfront of Cape Town to industry that the predominantly white, English Cape elite decried - and which they constantly sought to alter through a variety of proposed schemes and grand visions throughout the early twentieth century.



**Figure 2** – The sprawl of the Railway Goods Yard cutting off the city from the sea, with the municipal pier extending along the line of Adderley Street. To the right of the pier is the random block mole of the Modified South Arm Scheme, c1930 (UCT MacMillan Collection)

---

<sup>87</sup> Barrie Gasson, *Table Bay Foreshore: A study in Areal Growth and Functional Change* (unpublished thesis, University of Cape Town, 1966), pg. 28

<sup>88</sup> Table Bay Harbour Board, *A Short Account of the Construction of Harbour Works in Table Bay from 1656 to 1895* (Cape Town, 1895), pg. 30

## Contestations and competing visions over the future of the Foreshore

One of the first grand visions for Cape Town was a painting by a locally-based painter and teacher, James Ford<sup>89</sup>. Exhibited in 1902, it depicted an idealised Cape Town, with a grand orderly grid of buildings, uniform in shape and design, gleaming in white and blue. The waterfront was depicted as a hub of activity, with crowds of people bustling around a promenade, and swimming in the ocean. It was very much a fantasy scene – complete with a rainbow and railway tunnel under the mountain.



Figure 3 - *Holiday Time in Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* by James Ford, 1899

Shortly thereafter, a local businessman, CE McLeod, published a proposed scheme for Cape Town's Foreshore<sup>90</sup>. No doubt inspired by Ford's painting, McLeod's scheme was a solution to a recently-proposed scheme by the Table Bay Harbour Board (See Figure 4). Instead of a series of harbour piers jutting out from Roggebaai Beach, thus further cutting off the city from the sea, he proposed extensions to the existing Alfred Basin dock area (See Figure 4). The Foreshore would be rehabilitated for the public good via a pleasure promenade and pier, landscaped with park space,

---

<sup>89</sup> Brought to the Cape in 1880, he was a teacher of 16 years' experience in the silk-spinning town of Macclesfield, and trained in the functional-arts tradition of the South Kensington School under Henry Cole. Ford had worked for a number of years on his masterpiece, which was eventually exhibited in 1902.

<sup>90</sup> C.E. McLeod, *Proposed Development of the Table Bay Foreshore of Cape Town* (Cape Town, Townshend, Taylor; 1907). To date, no biographical information of McLeod has been found, despite the widespread circulation of his scheme - it was cited in the 1947 Plan.



and points for launching boats. This would incorporate the new municipal pier, which would host orchestra concerts and form a launching stage for local rowing clubs<sup>91</sup>.

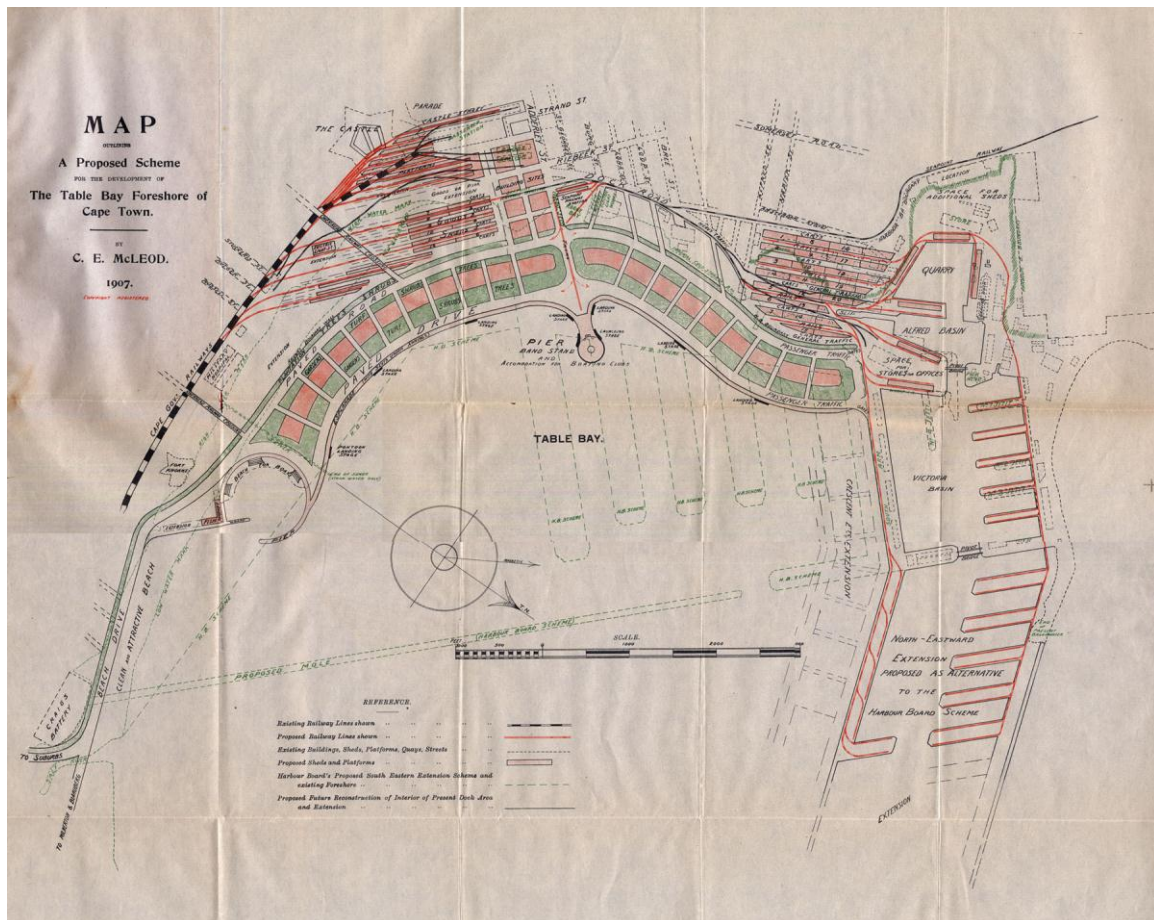


Figure 4 – McLeod’s Scheme emphasised the importance of public access to the waterfront. It depicted a promenade with park space and boating launches, similar to James’ painting. McLeod seemed to share a common sentiment of the time towards the Castle – proposed railway lines cut through it. It appears from this diagram that the idea of constructing a long harbour wall parallel to the shoreline, as implemented in the Duncan Dock, was an earlier consideration by the Table Bay Harbour Board (C.E. McLeod, *Proposed development of the Table Bay Foreshore of Cape Town, 1907*)

It appears that this idea was taken further through a local contest for proposed schemes for the Foreshore. The winners were published in the *Cape Times*, and reflect a similar desire for leisure space that would contribute to the beauty of the city, and move away from the industrialised nature of the Foreshore (see Figure 5 & 6).

<sup>91</sup> The municipal pier was thus created more as a space of privileged leisure – it apparently required paid entry.

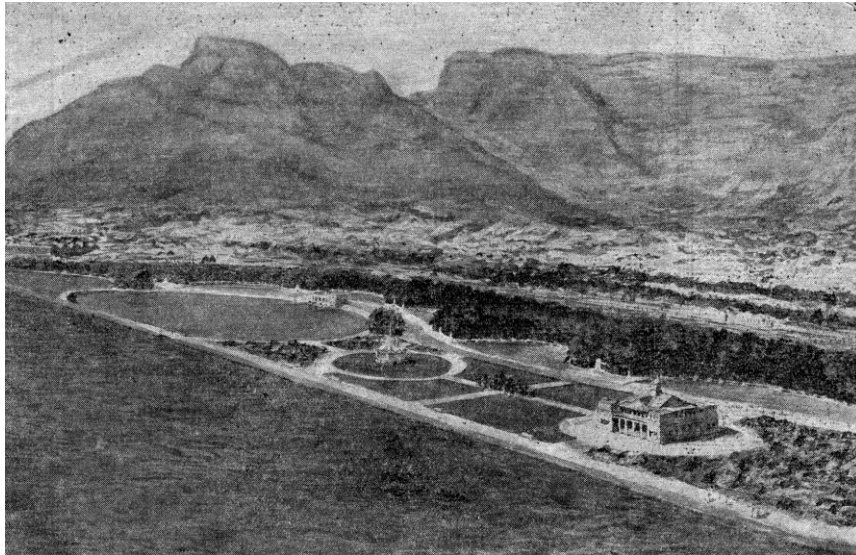


Figure 5 – A rendition of the Foreshore, transformed into a site of leisure, 1911 (Anonymous, UCT MacMillan Collection)

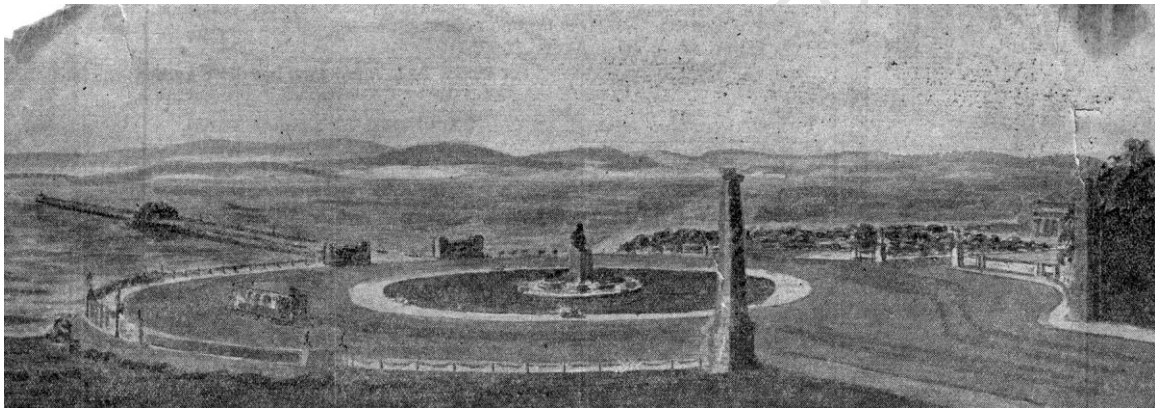


Figure 6 – The circle at the sea-end of Adderley Street and the proposed municipal pier, 1911 (Anonymous, UCT MacMillan Collection)

From these earlier visions until the 1930s, there appeared a dearth of published visions for the Foreshore, though debates still raged over the presence of the railway lines. The calls for improved infrastructure in the city were finally answered in 1930, which saw the start of SAR&H's new scheme for the expansion of Table Harbour - the Modified South Arm Scheme<sup>92</sup> - that would offer new berthage via the creation of a random block mole, and greater protection for shipping in the form of extensions to the breakwater<sup>93</sup>. Funds had been on hold for a number of years due to the bulk of expenditure being directed at Port Elizabeth's new harbour. The economic depression of the 1930s

<sup>92</sup> Developed in 1923 by George Buchanan. Gasson, *Table Bay Foreshore*, pg. 30

<sup>93</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1930, pg. 48

also saw SAR&H reluctant and unable to spend on infrastructure that would not see a significant return<sup>94</sup>.

This constant tension over the state of the Foreshore and the presence of the goods yard, railway station and dock lines was brought to the fore in negotiations between the City and SAR&H throughout the 1930s. This was initiated in 1930 by a joint committee, comprising the City Council and the CPPA, to deal with the development of the Foreshore area<sup>95</sup>. The *Report of the Capetown Railway and Foreshore Layout Committee* in 1931 called for the setback of the railway station from Adderley Street; the sinking below ground of the dock railway lines so that new roads could be extended over the area permitted road-widening construction; and a land reclamation scheme to make further space available for development<sup>96</sup>. This was rejected outright by SAR&H, though further negotiations brought about the promise for a reclamation scheme, while the dock railway line would be raised, and roads extended through a series of underpasses. The City Council would be given rights to the land between the dock railway lines and the sea for a period of twenty years: “the (SAR&H) Administration to agree to the City Council utilising the area in question as recreation grounds and gardens, but no permanent buildings may be erected therein.”<sup>97</sup> The scheme was promoted as a means to end unemployment in the city, but the SAR&H Administration balked at the projected cost of £2,333,000, and emphasised that such a scheme would only be possible if it benefited them from a practical and technical point of view, and if the scheme was able to balance financially. A further deputation by the City Council in 1932 to the Minister of Railways emphasised the importance of the scheme to the city, not only to allow for critical infrastructural developments, but also to help alleviate unemployment. The Minister and Railway Board were unconvinced, and rejected the scheme, citing a lack of funds<sup>98</sup>. Already by 1932, capital expenditure on Table Bay Harbour works had reached £5,024,140 (by comparison, Durban’s harbour works had reached £5,832,403)<sup>99</sup>, with significant dredging works underway, along with limited reclamation.

---

<sup>94</sup> Works on the Southern Modified Scheme were halted in 1931, before restarting in 1933.

<sup>95</sup> MM 1931, pg.27

<sup>96</sup> MM 1931, pg. 28

<sup>97</sup> MM 1931, pg. 30

<sup>98</sup> MM 1932, pg. 9

<sup>99</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1932, pg. 105. It is not clear from the report when the start of this period is, though it is likely to be 1910.

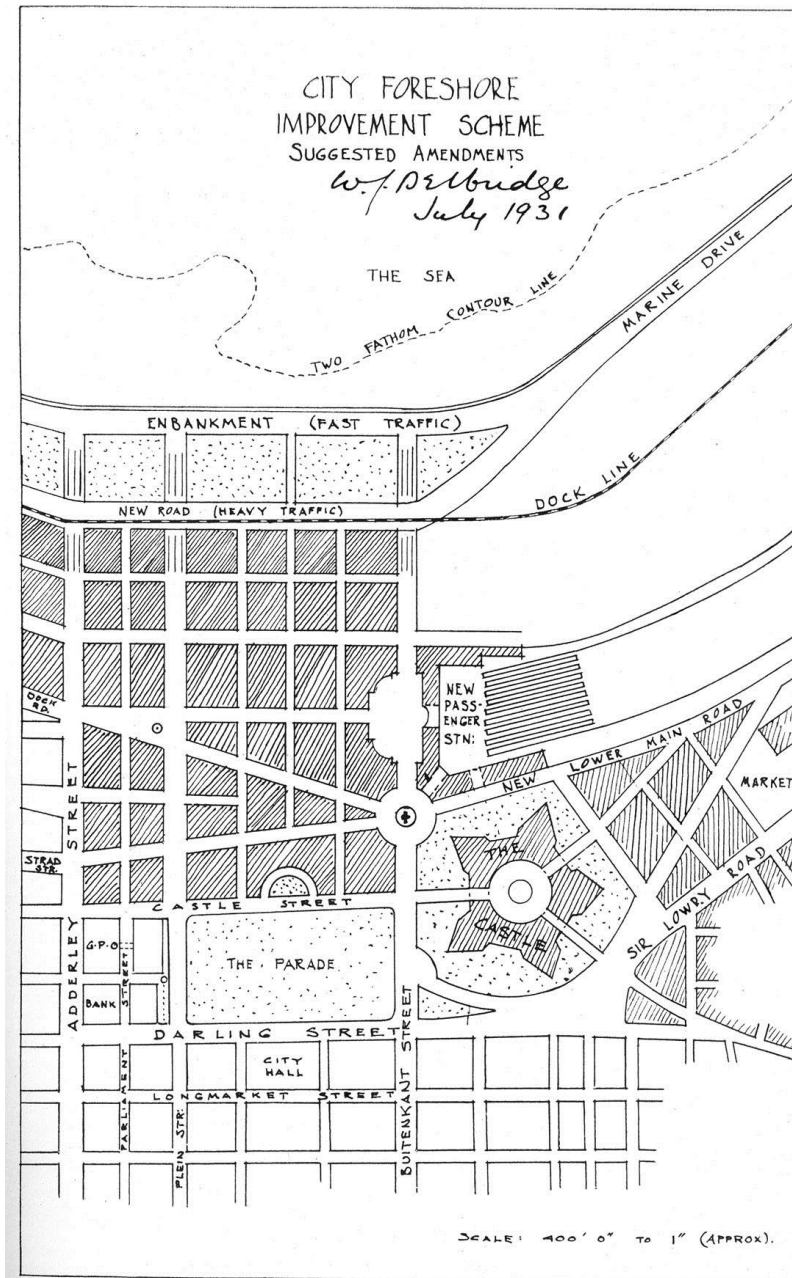
This debate reflected the constant calls for an alteration to the Passenger Station and Goods Yard, and one of the first schemes put forward by a member of the public – William Delbridge<sup>100</sup>. His scheme clearly advocated further reclamation for the city's development, but pushed back the Passenger Station and Goods Yard, permitting a clear line of sight from the Grand Parade to the sea (see Figure 7). A local businessman, Andrew Allen<sup>101</sup>, was also an outspoken advocate on the matter, calling for a rehabilitation of Cape Town's waterfront through public lectures and letters to the press. His proposed scheme in 1932 closely resembled that of Delbridge's; with small city blocks, and a relocated Passenger Station. His scheme is notable for being one of the first perspective drawings of what a future Cape Town might look like, and gave particular prominence to a leisure space on the waterfront, continuing the tradition of the municipal pier (see Figure 8). The appearance of the cityscape is one of neat, orderly buildings, uniform in height and built in a Classicist style – the preferred style of early twentieth century English South Africans, particularly those in Cape Town. This scheme is significant as it indicates the influence of the City Beautiful movement, by emphasising a neat, orderly cityscape of a unified design, with landscaped public plazas. Allen later presented a modified scheme that showed the Passenger Station maintain its position on Adderley Street, but now below ground (see Figure 9). Of significance in Delbridge and Allen's schemes, is the rehabilitation of the Castle. Unlike McLeod's scheme, the Castle is shown as a central feature, with attentive landscaping giving it prominence. This reflected the reclamation and emphasis given to the Dutch period under a growing Afrikaner nationalism, which in turn fed into a more general white South African identity.

---

<sup>100</sup> A noted Cape architect, and chair of the CPIA. Delbridge was noted for belonging to a more Classicist style, typical of Cape Town's architects.

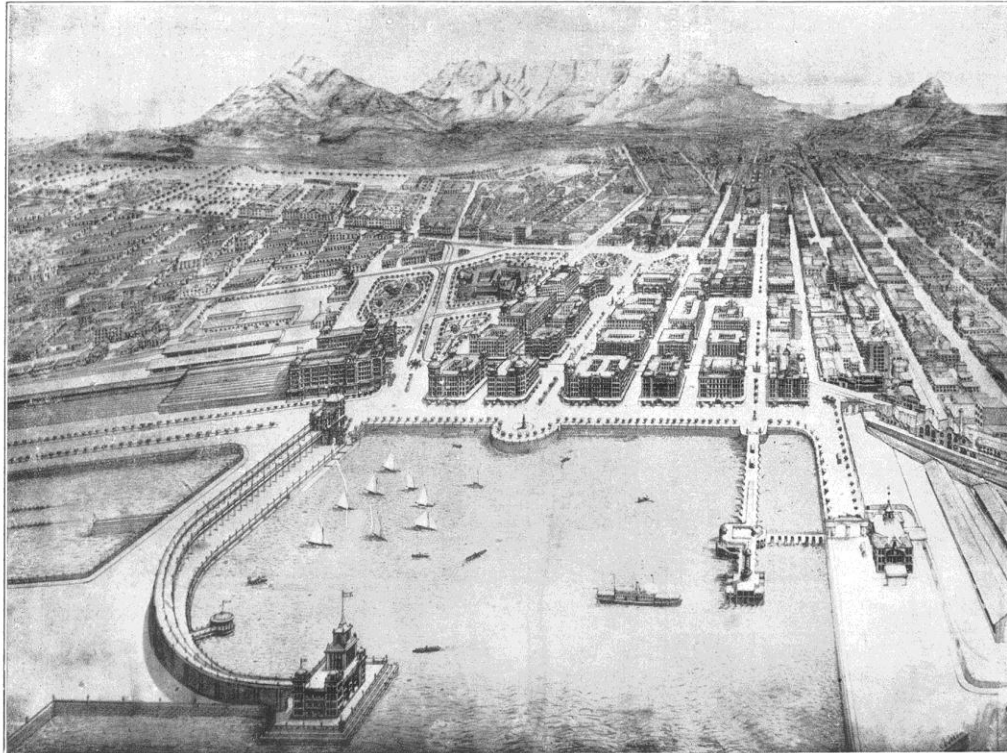
<sup>101</sup> Born in Ireland in 1868, Allen had arrived in South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, and founded companies that produced asphalt in Cape Town and Johannesburg. He died in early 1938, never seeing what would become of the Foreshore. No doubt he would have disapproved.





A Suggested Cape Town Foreshore Plan.

Figure 7 – Delbridge’s first proposed scheme for the Foreshore, mimicking the tight city blocks of the original VOC grid plan for Cape Town. The train station is pushed back in front of the Castle, while Buitenkant Street is extended to the harbour (AB&E August 1931)



Mr. A. Allen's suggested Cape Town Foreshore Improvement Scheme.

Figure 8 – Allen's proposed scheme; the emphasis on small city blocks, with a pleasure bay for yachting and rowing. Again the railway station is set back in from of the Castle, restoring the city's connection to the sea (AB&E January 1932)

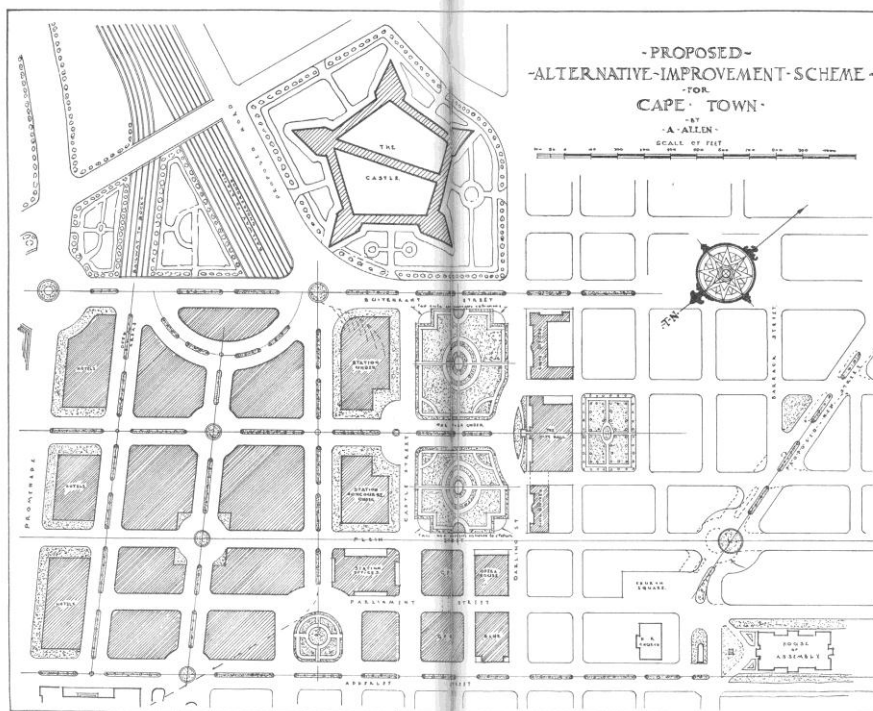


Figure 9 – Allen demonstrates the call for the railway lines to be sunk if they are to extend to Adderley Street. The Grand Parade, similar to his 1932 scheme, is now a landscaped park, giving further emphasis to the City Hall (AB&E November 1934)





The Government, however, had quashed the City Council's efforts to retain control of its waterfront in negotiations with SAR&H. In order to empower Craig's scheme - the Sea Shore Bill (Act 21 of 1935) had effectively made the Governor-General owner of the entire South African shoreline, with full rights to control development. The City Council had sent a deputation in 1934 to avert such legislation which would take away their control of the foreshore area<sup>104</sup>, but this was clearly unsuccessful.

In the mid-1930s, the City Council was left somewhat disempowered through a series of City Engineers. The existing City Engineer, DE Lloyd-Davies, had retired in 1932, and was replaced by J Thompson. However, Thompson retired the following year, leaving the City Council without a prominent City Engineer that was promoting town planning and new schemes for the City as Lloyd-Davies had been. The City Council decided to appoint an overseas expert, and a list of candidates revealed the Engineer to the Dagenham Urban District Council, TP Francis, to be the most suitable. Dagenham was praised for one of the biggest housing projects in Britain, and a new power station. Francis was also cited as being responsible for massive road schemes and sewage disposal works (he even published a book on the subject)<sup>105</sup>. This signified the emphasis given in South Africa to the appointment of overseas experts. Francis' arrival in 1934 was greeted with great excitement, for the City Council finally had an expert to champion its future development<sup>106</sup>. He at once got to work on a scheme for the Foreshore, and it too reflected the common sentiment in Cape Town to relocate the Passenger Station (see Figure 11). Unfortunately he died a few months later in June 1935, leaving the City Council again without a champion. Walter Lunn, who had previously been City Engineer of Bloemfontein, replaced him.

---

<sup>104</sup> Proceedings of Council 1933-34, pg. 410

<sup>105</sup> AB&E November 1933, pg. 27

<sup>106</sup> AB&E February 1934, pg. 14

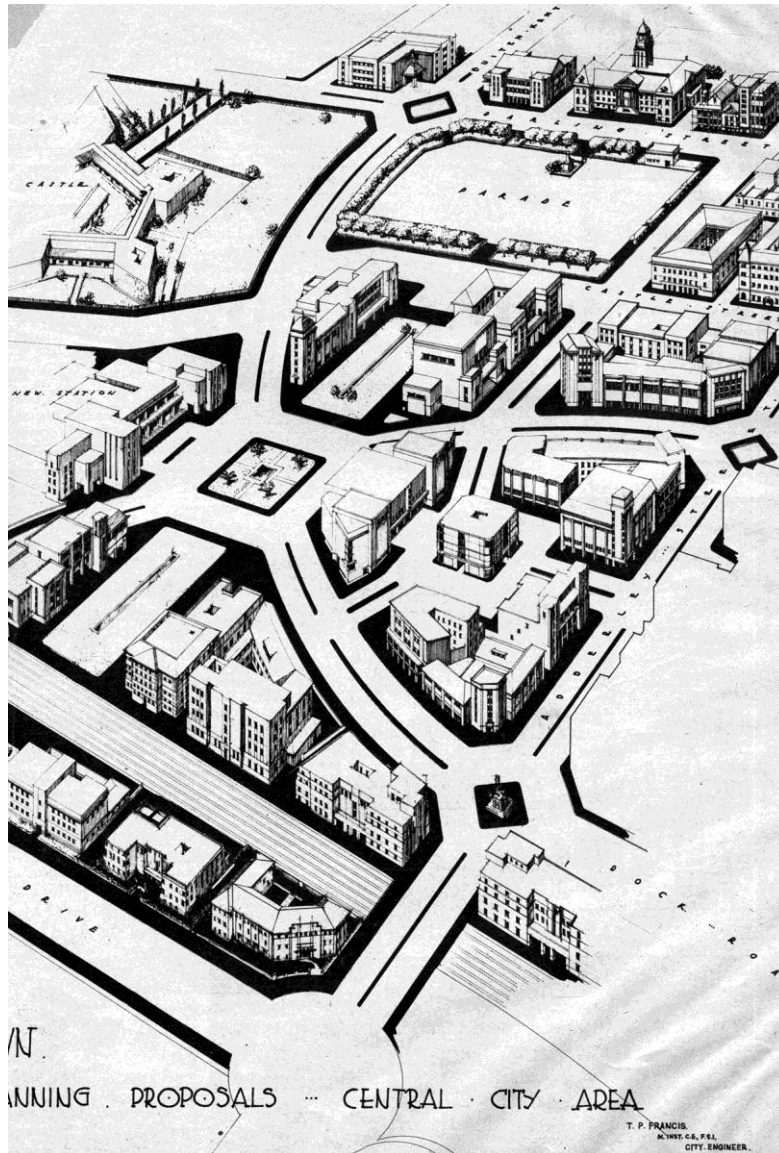


Figure 11 – 1934 TP Francis’ Scheme for Cape Town: a new city square is created in front of the railway station, which has been moved back to in front of the Castle. The rigid grid has been disrupted with curved roads, and city blocks remain small, and buildings low (UCT MacMillan Collection)

With the vacuum left by Francis in the City Council, the only viable scheme with the chance of implementation was that of Jack Craig. However, SAR&H rejected this, prompting an outcry from Cape Town’s commercial elite. In July 1935 the Minister of Transport sought to give reassurances to a group of Cape representatives, and finally in November of that year, Craig’s scheme was submitted for final approval to the Table Bay Harbour Advisory Board<sup>107</sup>. It appeared that the plan was rapidly adopted and speedily implemented, for block-laying operations started on 2 July 1935, and reclamation work was able to start by the end of October<sup>108</sup>. The Railways and Harbours Board had

<sup>107</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1936, pg. 28

<sup>108</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1936, pg. 158



also emphasised the importance of the New Basin Scheme, citing rapidly increasing shipping traffic. Nearly £6 million was allocated for the Scheme, which was estimated to take 4 years<sup>109</sup>. By the end of June 1937 the quay wall foundations were completed<sup>110</sup>, which would allow the construction of the retaining walls, behind which spoil dredged from the harbour would be dumped to create the reclaimed land. Dredging and reclamation work was outsourced to a Dutch firm, the Hollandse Aanneming Maatskappy, in 1937<sup>111</sup>, and dredging operations were inaugurated by Prime Minister Hertzog on 10 May 1938. The outbreak of World War 2 disrupted construction, which was due to be completed by 1941, however most construction was completed by 1943, allowing the Minister of Transport, FC Sturrock, to open the harbour on 19 April 1943 (see Figure 13). In keeping with the tradition of naming significant public works to reflect the current political order, and as part of the first phase of laying the Foreshore with a distinct political ideology, the new harbour was named the Duncan Dock in honour of Sir Patrick Duncan, the Governor-General who died that year while in office<sup>112</sup>. In 1945, the new graving dock was opened and named for Sturrock<sup>113</sup>.

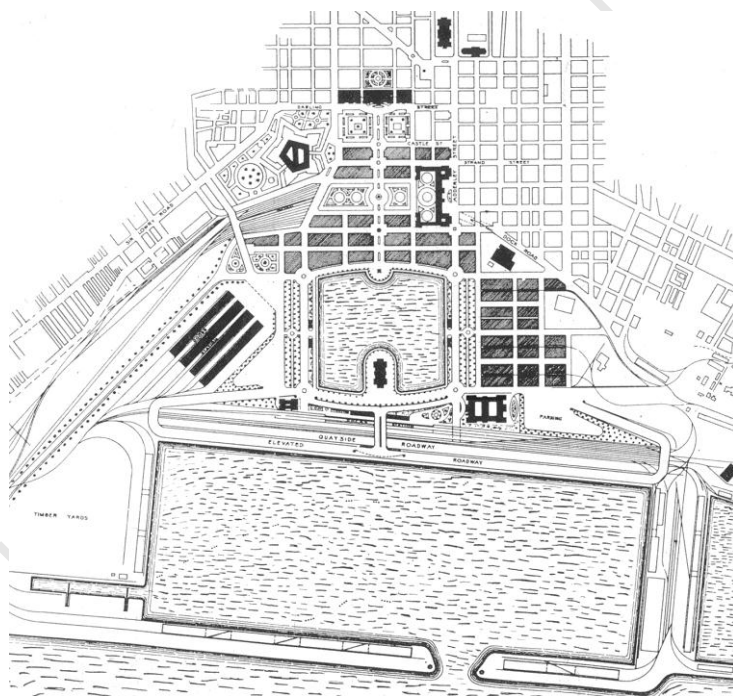


Figure 12 – Another proposal by Allen in 1936 that moved the goods station back, and sunk the railway lines, creating a park deck and a station on Adderley. The interesting addition of a dock for seaplanes reflects a new emerging technology, through a continuing emphasis on entry to the city via the sea. The alignment of the proposed dock is not set at a perpendicular angles to Adderley Street – a modification Lunn would suggest during later negotiations (SAAR 1936)

<sup>109</sup> R&HB Report 1936, pg. 8

<sup>110</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1937, pg. 62

<sup>111</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1938, pg. 62

<sup>112</sup> To add weight to the naming ceremony, his ashes were interred in a memorial on the dock.

<sup>113</sup> Sturrock was also the owner of a prominent shipping company in Cape Town.

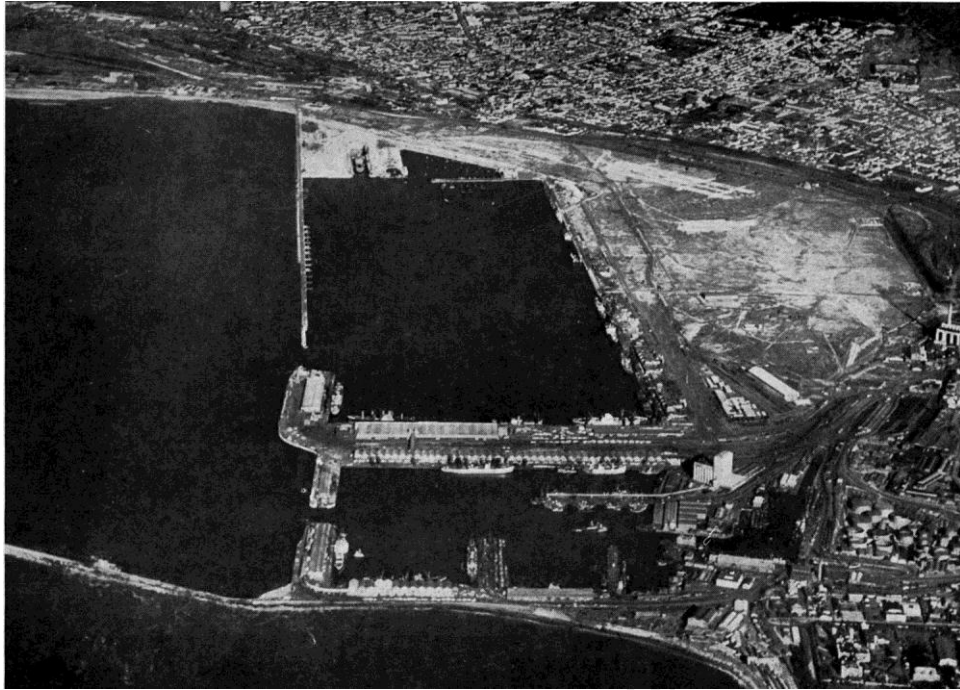


Figure 13 – The Duncan Dock with the reclaimed land of the Foreshore to the right (1947 Plan)

Minor infrastructural work at the new harbour would continue for a number of years, but now the matter of the reclaimed land - some 2000 square metres - and what to do with it remained in dispute. Negotiations between the City Council and the SAR&H Administration had restarted in 1936, with a series of plans and maps establishing a dense grid network on the Foreshore, with a site for a new city hall. The other dominant features were the goods yard and passenger station - vital property to SAR&H and key resources intended to justify their investment on the foreshore. A joint committee was established a final plan produced in 1938, which was adopted by Council in 1939<sup>114</sup> (see Figure 14).

---

<sup>114</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan: final report of the Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, June 1947* (Pretoria, 1948), pg. 20

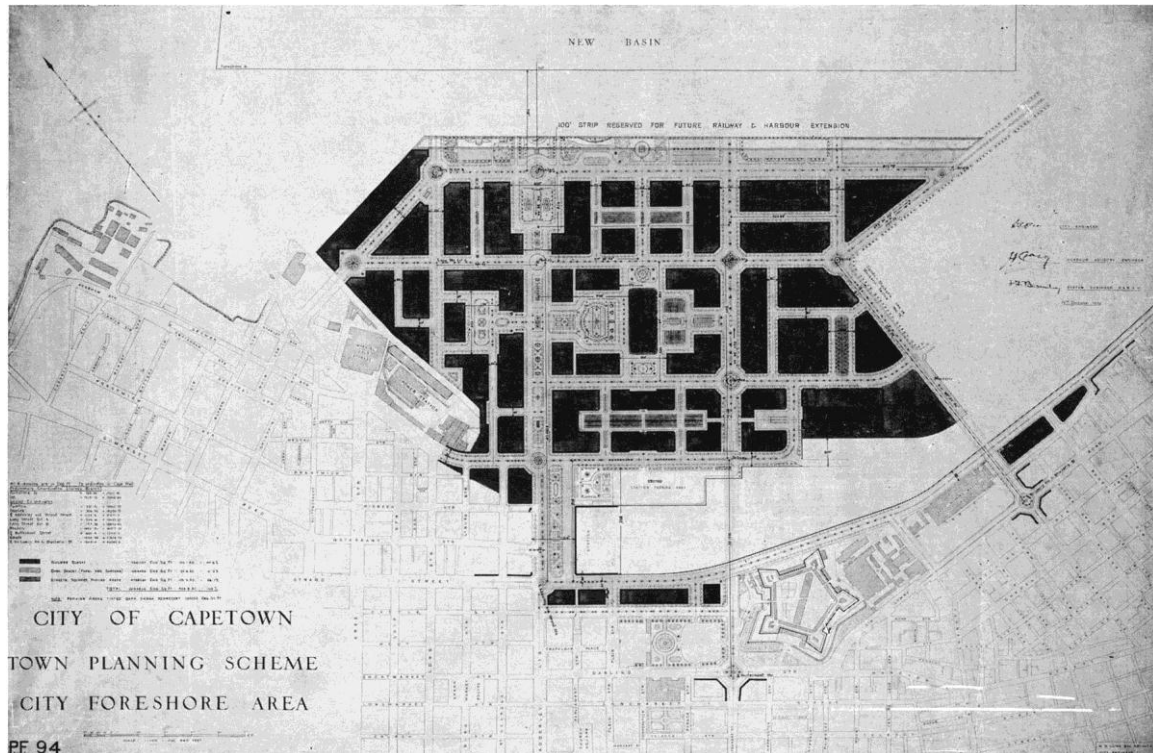


Figure 14 - Map of the Joint Technical Committee of 1938 (1947 Plan)

While their reasons remain unclear, SAR&H rejected the joint committee's 1938 scheme. In order to resolve the impasse, it was decided to appoint two separate teams of experts who would produce two separate schemes for the reclaimed Foreshore. These two schemes would then subject to further negotiation in order to produce a final plan. The City Council appointed Eugène Beaudouin (a noted French architect), while the Administration appointed Leonard Thornton White (Professor of Architecture at UCT) and Francis Longstreth Thompson (a noted Town Planner). The separate teams of Beaudouin, and Thornton White – Longstreth Thompson, went on to produce significant schemes in 1940 that would lay the foundations of the Foreshore. The significance of these 1940 schemes, and the diverse influence of the experts that produced them, will be addressed in the second chapter.

Of all the visions discussed here, it is notable that the only one to give any sense of human activity in the city was that of Ford. All other schemes represent purely top-down, two-dimensional maps and aerial perspective drawings. These lend a sense of the de-humanising nature of town planning through maps; which were able to erase localised features and nuances, topography or weather, or sweep away existing people and buildings if they were not found to fit within an aesthetically

pleasing diagram. None of the schemes imagine what the lived experience of the city would be like for pedestrians on the ground. The city becomes an object to be admired from a distance, not lived in or physically experienced on a daily basis.

### The rise of formal town planning in South Africa

In order to better understand the debates around the future of Cape Town's Foreshore in the 1930s, it is important to contextualise these through the rise of town planning as a formal practice, enforced through legislation. Concurrent to the debates around the Foreshore were increasingly vocal calls by professional groups who sought to introduce town planning practices to South Africa – practices that were based on best-case examples in Britain, Europe, Australia and America. They played on the constant image of South Africa's inability to 'keep up' with these international 'standards' – a deficiency that would inhibit the country's 'progress' and which required immediate attention.

In debating the origins of town planning in South Africa, Mabin and Smit argue that it was the 'recognition of townships' law in 1894 in the Republic of the Orange Free State, which was the first formal measure "dedicated to controlling urban form" through the establishment of a 'township board'<sup>115</sup>. Lionel Curtis, who had been active in London during various urban restructuring programmes, was instrumental in post-South African War Transvaal in passing the 1905 legislation to control and regulate urban development<sup>116</sup>. Reluctance to centralised government control over land development led to a 1913 law that ceded power 'to establish and administer townships'<sup>117</sup>. The post-World War 1 housing crisis led to increased calls for effective town planning legislation, most notably in the formation of advocate bodies such as the Transvaal town planning Association (1919)<sup>118</sup>.

Coetzer identifies an early push to promote town planning in South Africa following the passing of the British Town Planning Act in 1910<sup>119</sup>. Unsuccessful attempts to introduce a similar bill into the

---

<sup>115</sup> Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities', pg. 194

<sup>116</sup> Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities', pg. 195

<sup>117</sup> Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities', pg. 196

<sup>118</sup> Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities', pg. 197

<sup>119</sup> Coetzer, *The Production of the City as a White Space*, pg. 133

Union Parliament in 1912 did not detract its supporters, who closely followed English examples, and who continued to lobby for such legislation. The overwhelming grounds for this support, Coetzer argues, was a belief in the aesthetic that English town planning promoted - a visual order that was strongly anti-urban and that was concerned with the promotion of a hegemonic White English identity, to the exclusion of all others (notably Coloured and Black)<sup>120</sup>. A close alliance of the Cape Institute of Architects<sup>121</sup> and the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association<sup>122</sup> was evidence of the link between visual order, and socio-economic order. With the formation of early twentieth-century white South African identity partially along 'Cape Dutch' lines, 'founding fathers' such as van Riebeeck and van der Stel were looked to as the 'fathers' of town planning South Africa, further legitimising its practice.

Van Graan identifies town planning as being part of a localised negotiation and adaptation around European-based concepts of Modernist thought and practice. Like Mabin and Smit, he finds that it became largely removed of its "strong socialist concern for improving the well-being of its entire people, but rather become primarily a mechanism for improving production, restructuring urban areas into racially and physically segregated areas and dealing with issues around health and slum clearance."<sup>123</sup> The physical forms were the most distinct feature of Modernism in South Africa, becoming "an aesthetic of the urban avant-garde"<sup>124</sup>.

It was not until the 1920s<sup>125</sup> (when the first private Garden City suburb in Cape Town - Pinelands - was established) that the legislative power of town planning gained traction through the Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers Act 46 of 1925<sup>126</sup>. This does demonstrate the reluctance of the state

---

<sup>120</sup> Coetzer, *The Production of the City as a White Space*, pg. 111-112

<sup>121</sup> Later the Cape Peninsula Institute of Architects (CPIA).

<sup>122</sup> Coetzer, *The Production of the City as a White Space*, pg. 114

<sup>123</sup> van Graan, *Negotiating Modernism in Cape Town*, pg. ii

<sup>124</sup> van Graan, *Negotiating Modernism in Cape Town*, pg. ii

<sup>125</sup> As early as 1916, DE Lloyd-Davies, the City Engineer of Cape Town, had published a report on the establishment of Town Planning schemes – urging their adoption in the city to curb reckless development. He cited the town planning legislation in Britain as a model to follow, and offered the town planning scheme he had prepared for Alexandria (in Egypt) as a best case example – highlighting the regulation of subdivisions, provision of services, and demarcation of certain industries through the mechanism of zoning. DE Lloyd-Davies, *Report on Town Planning Procedure* (Cape Town, April 1916)

<sup>126</sup> TB Floyd, *Town Planning in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1960), pg. 42. This was one of the earliest publications and the only one to be written by a local planner in this period of study. TB Floyd held diplomas in the subject from the (British) Town Planning Institute, the (British) Institution of Municipal and County Engineers, and served the committees of the South African Branch of the Town Planning Institute, and the Cape and Transvaal Town Planning



to create a national regulatory body, and perhaps signalled a prevailing attitude under the Pact Government of devolving greater power to the provinces. This Act empowered the provinces to make Town Planning Schemes under local ordinances, which the Cape was the first to do with Ordinance 13 of 1927, followed by the Transvaal (Ordinance 11) in 1931<sup>127</sup>. These had come about largely under the sustained lobbying of the Cape and Transvaal Town Planning Associations, who were dominated by the three professions most concerned with the subject - engineers, architects and surveyors<sup>128</sup>. Natal and the Orange Free State were to follow in 1934 (Ordinance 10) and 1947 (Ordinance 20) respectively<sup>129</sup>.

While the 1927 Cape Ordinance had granted powers to control subdivision, they were presented more in an advisory role, and had not been fully implemented by the Province. Following further lobbying, a new Town Planning Ordinance was passed in 1937, empowering the City Council to establish a Town Planning Office, and create legally enforceable Town Planning Schemes. However, ultimate power was held by the Provincial Administrator to overturn and amend these Schemes<sup>130</sup>, a power which would be exercised to the detriment of the City Council in the Foreshore's development. The Town Planning Scheme for Cape Town was comprised of a series of surveys and resulting in a series of Town Planning Statements related to specific areas of the Cape Town municipality<sup>131</sup>. Town Planning Schemes would allow for local municipalities to control all matters relating to the built environment - subdivisions, land use, building construction, building height, road width, safety standards, sanitation services etc. These were depicted through zoning maps produced by the Town Planning Office, and would be prevalent in the various schemes produced by the Cape Town City Engineer's Department from 1940-70.

---

Associations. He was the first professional to publish on the subject of town planning in South Africa, with *Town planning in South Africa* in 1960 (this followed the more practically-oriented handbook; *Township layout* in 1951).

<sup>127</sup> Floyd, *Town Planning in South Africa*, pg. 42

<sup>128</sup> This was exemplified by Professor AE Snape (Engineering), Lloyd-Davies (Cape Town City Engineer) and Cornish-Bowden (Cape Surveyor-General) in the Cape; with Professor GE Pearse (architecture), EH Waugh (Johannesburg City Engineer), and Maxwell Edwards (Transvaal Surveyor-General) in the Transvaal. Floyd, *Town Planning in South Africa*, pg. 42

<sup>129</sup> TB Floyd, *Township Layout* (Pietermaritzburg, 1951), pg. 78-9. Acts are laws created by Parliament and applicable to the entire country, while Ordinances are those created by the Provinces, and applicable only in that Province

<sup>130</sup> Floyd was heavily critical of the Cape Provincial Administrator and its Town Planning Ordinance which moved power away from local authorities to central authorities, claiming that the power invested in the Administrator was a "relic of old colonial days when the Governor was a dictator." Floyd, *More about town planning*, pg. 167

<sup>131</sup> They were divided up into three sections and completed over a period of about 20 years, following the inception of the Town Planning Office. The first section was from Bakoven to Woodstock, adopted by Council in May 1941; section two from Woodstock to Wynberg, adopted June 1952; and the third from Wynberg to Clovelly, adopted December 1957. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Town Planning Scheme* (Cape Town, 1963), pg. 113-4

## The 1938 Town Planning Congress

As groups of architects debated over introduced legislation and the future of Cape Town's Foreshore, academic circles were increasingly occupied by the various theories proposed by noted architects. These academic debates appeared to reach their zenith in the 1938 Town Planning Congress. Hosted by the School of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, and organised partly by students, the Congress also represented the prevalence Le Corbusier's influence in South Africa through the efforts of the Transvaal Group<sup>132</sup>. The Congress hosted several prominent speakers on the subject of town planning, while three schemes were presented as best case examples. These included the new industrial centre of Vereeniging, a student scheme for a 'model native township for 20,000 inhabitants' (co-authored and presented by Roy Kantorowich<sup>133</sup>), and a scheme by professional architects for 'the business centre for Capetown'.

Le Corbusier's principles of town planning, and the potential application of these for Cape Town, were highlighted in a talk by Professor Thornton White, the newly appointed Professor of Architecture at the University of Cape Town (who worked on a significant scheme for Cape Town's Foreshore in 1940). Thornton White argued that Algiers, as an African coastal city, held similar problems to Cape Town, and thus that Le Corbusier's 1933 Scheme for Algiers served as an excellent example for Cape Town to follow<sup>134</sup>. A prominent feature of the Algiers Scheme was a massive elevated highway that spanned the length of the city along the shore (see Figure 15), and which was compared to the later boulevards built in Cape Town.

---

<sup>132</sup> The noted South African Modernist, and leading member of the Transvaal, Rex Martienssen, had been to visit Le Corbusier in France. His meeting with the 'master' brought back an approving letter and some drawings. Gilbert Herbert, *Martienssen and the International Style: The modern movement in South African architecture* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1975)

<sup>133</sup> Kantorowich would later go on to become the Town Planning Officer for the Joint Technical Committee that produced the 1947 Plan. The 'model native township' scheme was also worked on by Kurt Jonas, Connell, Irvine Smith, and Wepener. SAAR September 1938, pg. 344

<sup>134</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 336

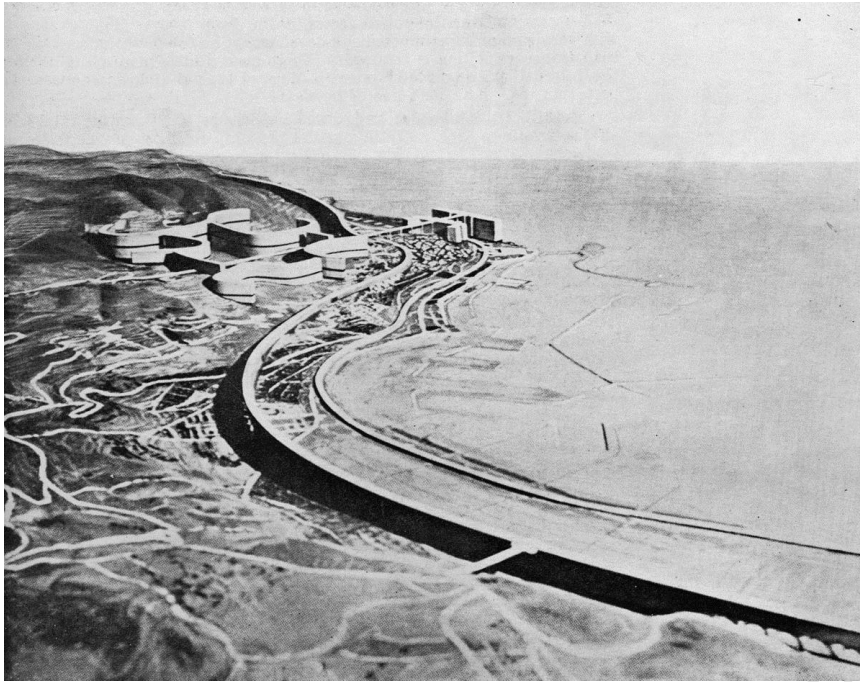


Figure 15 – Le Corbusier's 1933 Scheme for Algiers. Its most prominent feature is the long elevated highway that hugs the coastline – there was even the radical proposal for it to contain housing, with cars driving overhead. It highlights a Modernist proposal to separate traffic from people, one very much emphasised in Le Corbusier's town planning principles. (SAAR 1938)

The 'business centre for Capetown' Scheme<sup>135</sup> showed a radical adoption of the Le Corbusier's town planning principles, as outlined in his most recent work, *The Radiant City*. In presenting the 'business centre for Capetown' Scheme, Norman Hanson, cited Le Corbusier's principles as a need to de-congest the centres of cities, increase their densities, allow for greater traffic circulation through a reconceptualisation of the street, and increase the areas of green and open spaces<sup>136</sup>. The Scheme was a dramatic one, sweeping away a great section of Cape Town's city centre and inserting the ideal Corbusian cityscape of regular, towering blades, nestled in the green park space and connected via elegant elevated motorways (see Figure 16).

<sup>135</sup> The project involved eight prominent architects in Johannesburg; John Fassler, Norman Hanson, Howie, McIntosh, Stewart, Wilson, Sinclair and Mrs Sinclair. All were noted Modernists.

<sup>136</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 356

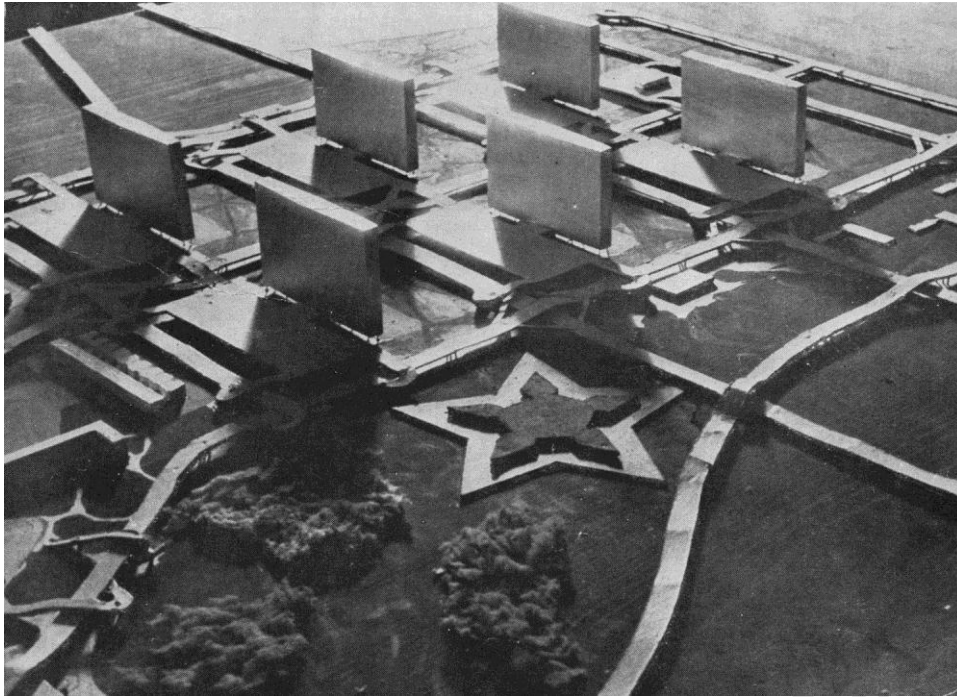


Figure 16 – ‘The business centre for Capetown’ Scheme, with distinctive towers and raised highways (SAAR 1938)

The dramatic erasure of the old Cape Town followed the maxim of Le Corbusier’s “surgical method, since in Hanson’s words; “Palliative measures are not enough - radical replanning is necessary”<sup>137</sup>. The strict geometric lines symbolised the potential of a ‘new order’ held possible by town planning: “Order is a creation of the human mind, in harmony with the animating spirit of nature - the town a geometrical projection of that creative faculty.”<sup>138</sup> It was this scheme that influenced the diagrams of Thornton White’s 1940 plans, and which led Pinnock to associate the planning of Cape Town with the Corbusian tradition<sup>139</sup>. However, this ignores the role of the Congress and indeed the ‘business centre for Capetown’ Scheme as an academic exercise – Hanson admitted later that the only chance of implementation was through a radical departure from private land ownership<sup>140</sup>. As a student, Kantorowich was influenced by his work on the student Scheme, but his travels to the USA would later modify his views towards Le Corbusier, leading him to reject what he felt were visions for the city that were unsympathetic to people<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 358

<sup>138</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 358

<sup>139</sup> Don Pinnock, ‘Ideology and Urban Planning’, pg.152, 155

<sup>140</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 374

<sup>141</sup> SAAR January 1942, pg. 12-14



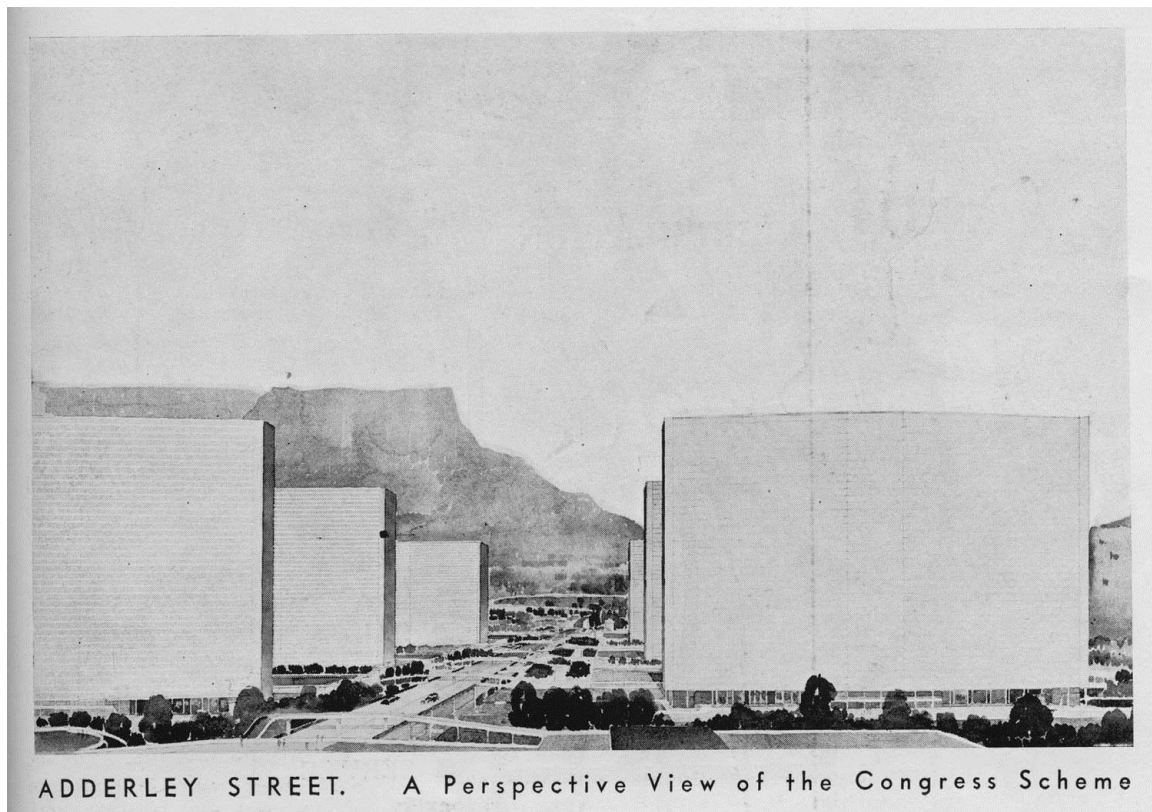


Figure 17 – This representation of the orderly blocks, viewed from the harbour, bears a striking resemblance to Figure 18 – a point Pinnock made to highlight the association of town planning Cape Town with the Corbusian tradition (SAAR 1938)

It was in these debates around town planning and the implementation of various principles from noted authorities that the plans for Cape Town's Foreshore emerged. They were encouraged by negative perceptions of the growth of Cape Town in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and motivated particularly by the desire to solve the problem of the railways between the city and sea. Town planning as studied here was very much divided in its concerns between the application of power through legislation, a pragmatic functionality to solve perceived urban crises, and the aesthetic quality of cities. Visual order was held to represent and lead to social order, a highly desirable end for urban administrators and the elite. As producers of a visual built environment, architects were thus perfectly positioned to offer solutions that could lead to such order. The subsequent plans of the 1940s would reflect these desires for visual order, combined with pragmatic solutions, at the hands of architects.

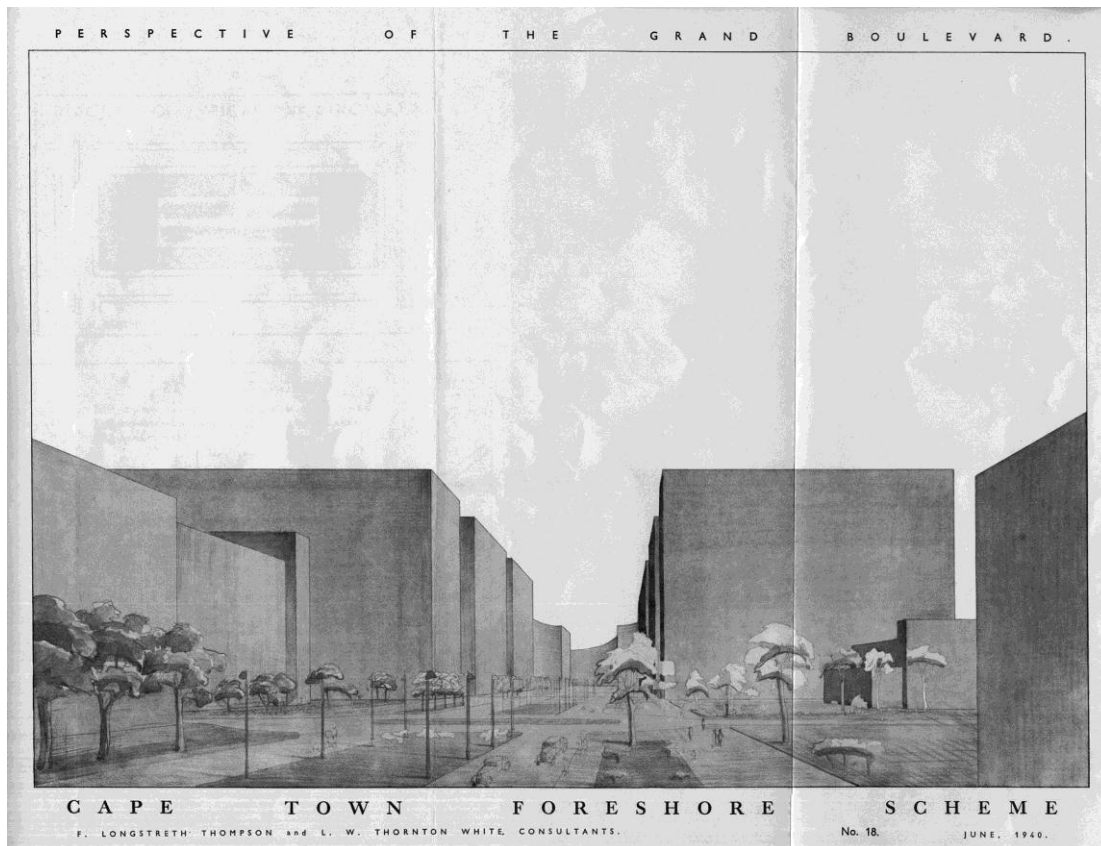


Figure 18 – Street perspective from Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White’s 1940 Scheme. The resemblance between this and the Congress Scheme should not be read too closely – the admittedly hard, unfriendly blocks are more a representation of the potential space for buildings, with an eye for creating an orderly ensemble of buildings that would contribute to a sense of civic beauty. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, *Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940*)

## CHAPTER 2 : Planning the Gateway

Emerging out of the debates around town planning and the contested visions for the Foreshore, the representatives of the City Council and SAR&H went on to produce schemes that incorporated a significant concept – the Monumental Approach – that was a physical representation of the popular image of Cape Town as the ‘Gateway to South Africa’. This concept highlighted a merging of the Corbusian tradition (as highlighted in the 1938 Town Planning Congress) with that of the City Beautiful movement – one that emphasised grand ceremonial axes and civic spaces. This convergence between the High Modernism of the Corbusian tradition and the traditional Classicism of the City Beautiful movement was highlighted not only in Cape Town, but also in the international schemes of Plymouth and Nairobi (where one of SAR&H’s representatives, Thornton White, was directly responsible). It was the plan of the City Council’s representative, Eugène Beaudouin, that ultimately laid the foundations for the Foreshore’s future form. This form however, would come about through further contestations between the City Council and SAR&H, resulting in the compromise settled on by the Szlumper Committee, and implemented in the 1947 Plan.

### The 1940 schemes

With the City Council and SAR&H deadlocked over the future of the reclaimed Foreshore, they agree to appoint two teams of international experts, who would in turn produce two separate schemes. These schemes would reflect the differing priorities of their commissioning authorities, who would in turn try to find common ground between their separate schemes.

As the only member of the City Council’s team, Eugène Beaudouin carried a high prestige in France (though his links to any South African networks remain a mystery)<sup>142</sup>. Despite being graduate of the noted *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (noted for its Classicist influence), he appeared to

---

<sup>142</sup> He was apparently given special leave from the French Army, as his government considered this ‘an honour and a compliment to France’ (as quoted in Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, pg. 150), though information as to how or why the City Council selected him was not available. Pinnock asserts that he was the Chief Architect of the French Government (Pinnock, ‘Ideology and Urban Planning’, pg. 152), a claim seemingly supported by a report in the *Montreal Gazette*, 22-10-1938, pg.21, though he is described here as the “chief architect of civil buildings and national palaces of France”.

adopt Modernist principles towards buildings. Beaudouin was noted for his work with Marcel Lods, another French Modernist architect, and until 1940 they were involved with many public housing projects that emphasised Modernist principles of austere, functional design and mass production. His projects, such as the *Cité de la Muette* in Drancy (1932-4), were hailed as models in the ideology of the CIAM group, a striking cluster of functionalist towers rising out of a park setting. Prior to 1940 he was involved with the planning of Havana and the Paris regional development plan, and would later be involved in the re-planning of parts of Marseilles<sup>143</sup>. Despite this, his position as “chief architect of civil buildings and national palaces of France”<sup>144</sup>, indicated an influence of the principles of the City Beautiful movement (most prominent in Haussmann’s Paris), with its emphasis on creating beautiful cityscapes and civic spaces that would contribute towards a sense of ‘civic pride’.

On the SAR&H team, Professor Leslie Thornton White also appeared to embody some contradictions between the City Beautiful movement and the Modernist tradition. His training was grounded in a classical architectural education, though he was exposed to Modernist principles while teaching at the Architectural Association in London. His architectural work appears to exhibit a good expression of Modernist form<sup>145</sup> (and he argued in favour of Le Corbusier in the 1938 Town Planning Congress), though instances of his city planning, such as Cape Town and Nairobi, demonstrate more of a City Beautiful influence (particularly in his monumental civic groupings). He had been appointed as the first Professor of the School of Architecture at the University of Cape Town in 1937<sup>146</sup>.

Partnering with Thornton White, Longstreth Thompson was perhaps the most experienced of the three, as a partner in the famous London-based planning firm of Adams, Longstreth Thompson, and Fry. He had participated in Joint Committees on the Thames Valley, West Middlesex, and Northampton schemes. Adams had blazed a trail to southern Africa for the firm, having being appointed to the Witwatersrand and Pretoria Joint Town Planning Committee in 1934<sup>147</sup>. The other partners had joined Adams in producing a final Town Planning Scheme for the Rand in 1936, with Longstreth Thompson becoming “regional planner for the municipalities of the Witwatersrand and

---

<sup>143</sup> Jean-Louis Cohen, "Beaudouin, Eugène" In Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T007132> (accessed September 25, 2012)

<sup>144</sup> *Montreal Gazette*, 22-10-1938, pg.21

<sup>145</sup> Such as the Centlivres Building in UCT’s Upper Campus, home to the Department of Architecture.

<sup>146</sup> SAAR January 1937, pg. 50

<sup>147</sup> AB&E 1933-34, pg. 22



Pretoria ... between 1935 and 1939”<sup>148</sup>. He delivered a speech on ‘Town Planning in South Africa’, at the South African Health Conference in Cape Town in January 1936, emphasising the application of zoning and of the application of town planning to achieve ‘harmonious development’<sup>149</sup>. His visit to Cape Town in 1939 to advocate for greater town planning measures no doubt foreshadowed his appointment by SAR&H (who had benefited from his firm’s plans for the railways in Johannesburg)<sup>150</sup>.

Both teams convened in early 1940, and given how small the professional circles were in South Africa and the similarity of their plans, it seems likely that they collaborated at some point. However, Beaudouin was the first to submit his report to the City Council (13 June 1940, having arrived a mere 6 weeks earlier)<sup>151</sup>, while Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson submitted theirs two months later<sup>152</sup>. The key similarities of the two 1940 schemes was the concept of a ‘Monumental Approach’, at the head of which was a grand Civic Centre – a clear influence of the City Beautiful movement.

The Monumental Approach was based on the concept of Cape Town as the ‘Gateway to South Africa’ This based on popular accounts of the city in White South African imagination, as the historical entry point of white ‘civilisation’ into South Africa (further emphasised by tourism bodies such as the CPPA). A Modernist, teleological framing of history was employed by South Africa (and particularly Afrikaner) nationalists, emphasising the importance of Jan van Riebeeck as a ‘founding father’ of the ‘South African nation’. Norman Hanson, a prominent Johannesburg-based architect, best invoked this image during the 1938 Town Planning Congress when presenting his scheme for Cape Town:

National sentiment fixes Capetown as the focal point of South African history and character. White civilisation gained its first hazardous foothold on that southern peninsula, and from there it has spread in successive waves into the great hinterland.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>148</sup> Mabin and Smit, ‘Reconstructing South Africa’s cities’, pg. 201

<sup>149</sup> SAAR 1936, pg. 345

<sup>150</sup> AB&E 1938-9, pg. 11

<sup>151</sup> E. E. Beaudouin, *Outline of Scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town (South Africa)* (Cape Town, 1940). Beaudouin’s report was the only one to mention the segregation of Cape Town’s black and coloured population, a point that Pinnock isolated. However, the absence of a discussion around race (overtly or otherwise) is notable from the other reports that deal with Cape Town.

<sup>152</sup> F. Longstreth Thompson and L.S. Thornton White, *Report of the Town Planning Advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore Scheme* (Pretoria, 1940)

<sup>153</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 358

A lived realisation of the 'Gateway to South Africa' concept is the emphasis on sea-based transport - both historical and contemporary. The vast majority of visitors and returning residents before 1950 arrived in Cape Town from the sea (as Beaudouin and Thornton White would certainly have done), and as mentioned before, the arrival and departure of passenger liners was a great spectacle and public ritual in the harbour - a space very much claimed as public. The ceremonial aspect of this arrival would also be emphasised during the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952.

Both 1940 schemes conspicuously departed from the existing ceremonial axis of Cape Town – Adderley Street (one diminished by the loss of the municipal pier). The decision from both was related to a Modernist conception of zoning that would keep Adderley Street as a zone of commerce, and create a separate civic zone elsewhere. This new civic axis would instead pivot off of the existing focus of civic power in Cape Town – the City Hall on the Grand Parade. The City Hall and Maritime Terminal would thus form the anchoring ends of the Monumental Approach; while in the centre would be a grand Civic Centre (see Figure 19-22). This was a distinct feature of twentieth century modernism - a site for a building or group of buildings that would symbolise the central power of its citizens. Such centres would include administrative and cultural buildings - as evidenced in the earlier conception of the City Hall, which functioned as offices and, with its hall, as a venue for the Cape Town Orchestra. Walter Lunn<sup>154</sup>, in arguing for Beaudouin's scheme, evoked the contemporary conception of a Civic Centre:

A Civic Centre in the true meaning of the term is a legitimate civic aspiration, but it is an aspiration which makes the most exacting demands upon its planners ... A Civic Centre is something more than an artistic aggregation of public buildings. It is a part of a city which is symbolic of all that is best in the intellectual and spiritual life of the citizens. Every building, every walk in the surroundings, is associated with something that is characteristic of the life of the people, privates and public, its aspirations, its pleasures, its history and its traditions.<sup>155</sup>

These echoed the earlier sentiments expressed at the 1938 Congress, where Le Corbusier was invoked:

---

<sup>154</sup> The new City Engineer who replaced TP Francis in 1935, Lunn had previously been City Engineer of Bloemfontein.

<sup>155</sup> City Council of Cape Town, *The City Engineer's report on the railway administration's plan for the development of the reclaimed Cape Town foreshore area* (Cape Town: City Engineer's Department, 1944), pg. 2

... the present day has inherited its Civic Centre, which is the hub of an immense wheel, the spokes of which run from great distances and have decided on the point of convergence.<sup>156</sup>

The City Engineer's office had been rapidly expanding over the years, with various departments spilling out of the City Hall into various buildings throughout Cape Town. A new administrative block, which would echo the upward civic aspirations that had originally been captured in the existing City Hall, was now clearly required.

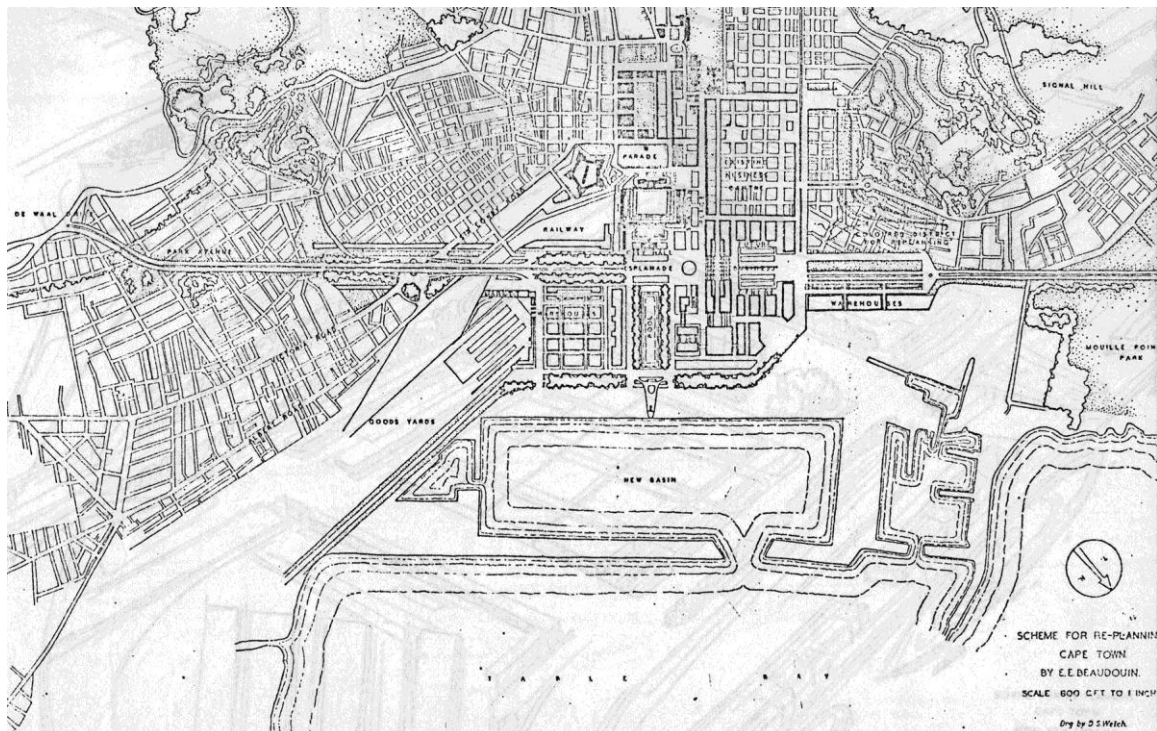


Figure 19 – Beaudouin's 1940 Report. The 'Park Avenue' cuts a direct and dramatic line through the city, terminating in a grand central civic space. Entry to this space is via the Monumental Approach from the harbour. Different areas of the Foreshore are now grouped into separate functional zones. (Illustrated by DS Welch; E.E. Beaudouin, *Outline of scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town, 1940*)

<sup>156</sup> SAAR September 1938, pg. 357



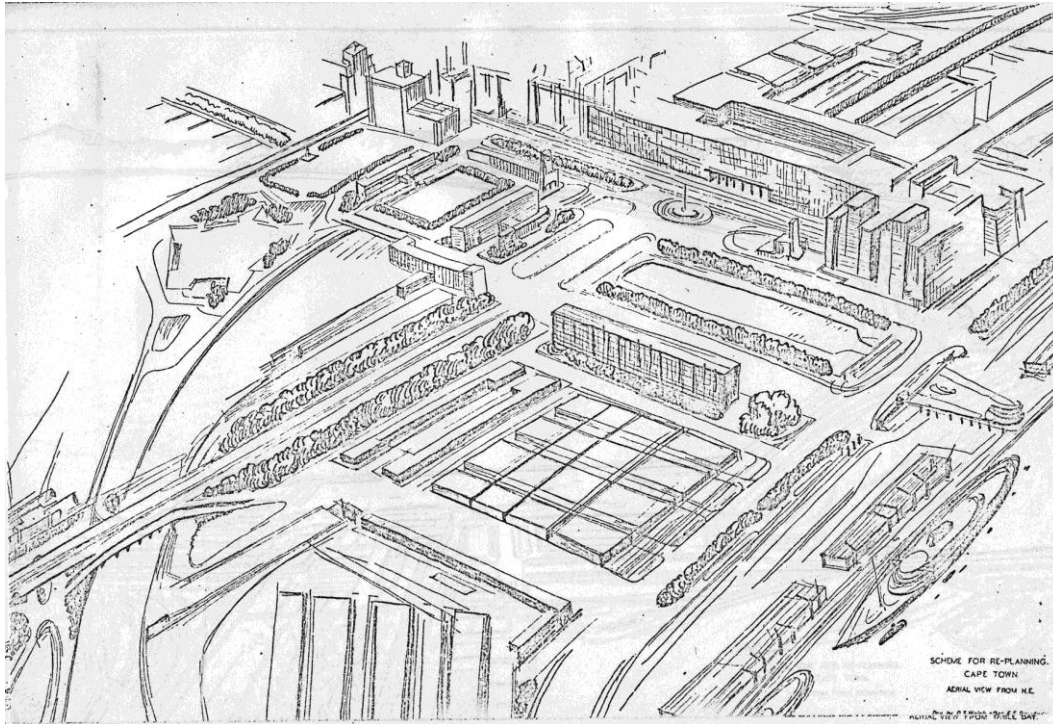


Figure 20 – the monumental grouping of civic buildings, with the Monumental Approach from the harbour. The railway lines have been sunk below a civic plaza. (Illustrated by DS Welch; E.E. Beaudouin, *Outline of scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town, 1940*)

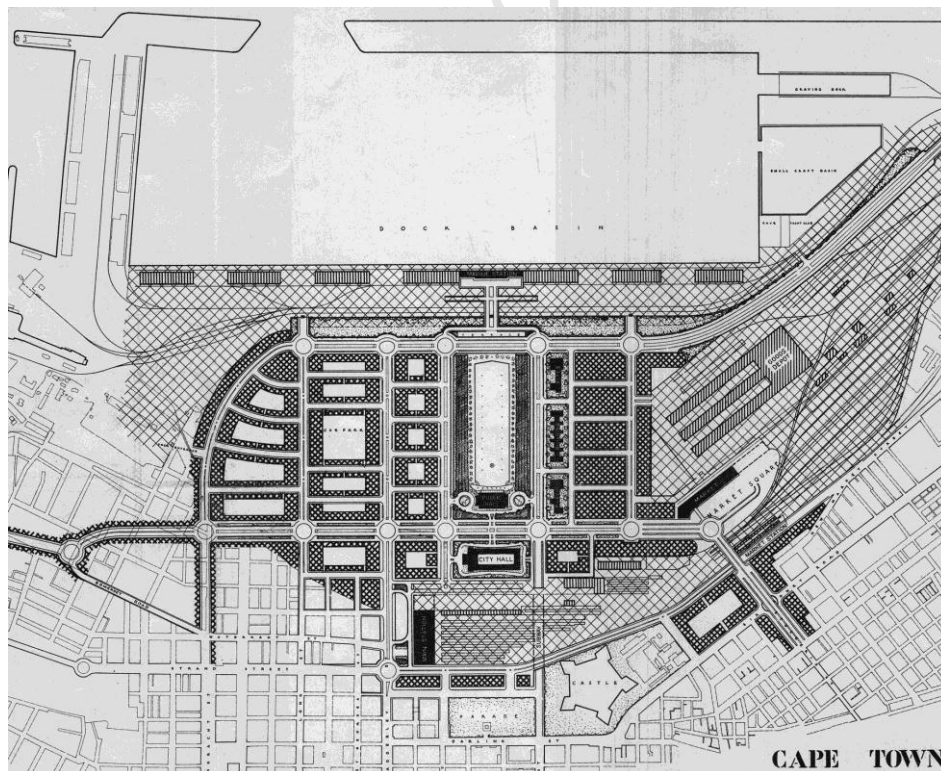


Figure 21 – Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson also produce a east-west axis, though this one is uninterrupted, and doesn't produce the monumental plaza of Beaudouin's report, nor does the axis extend up the mountainside. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, *Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940*)

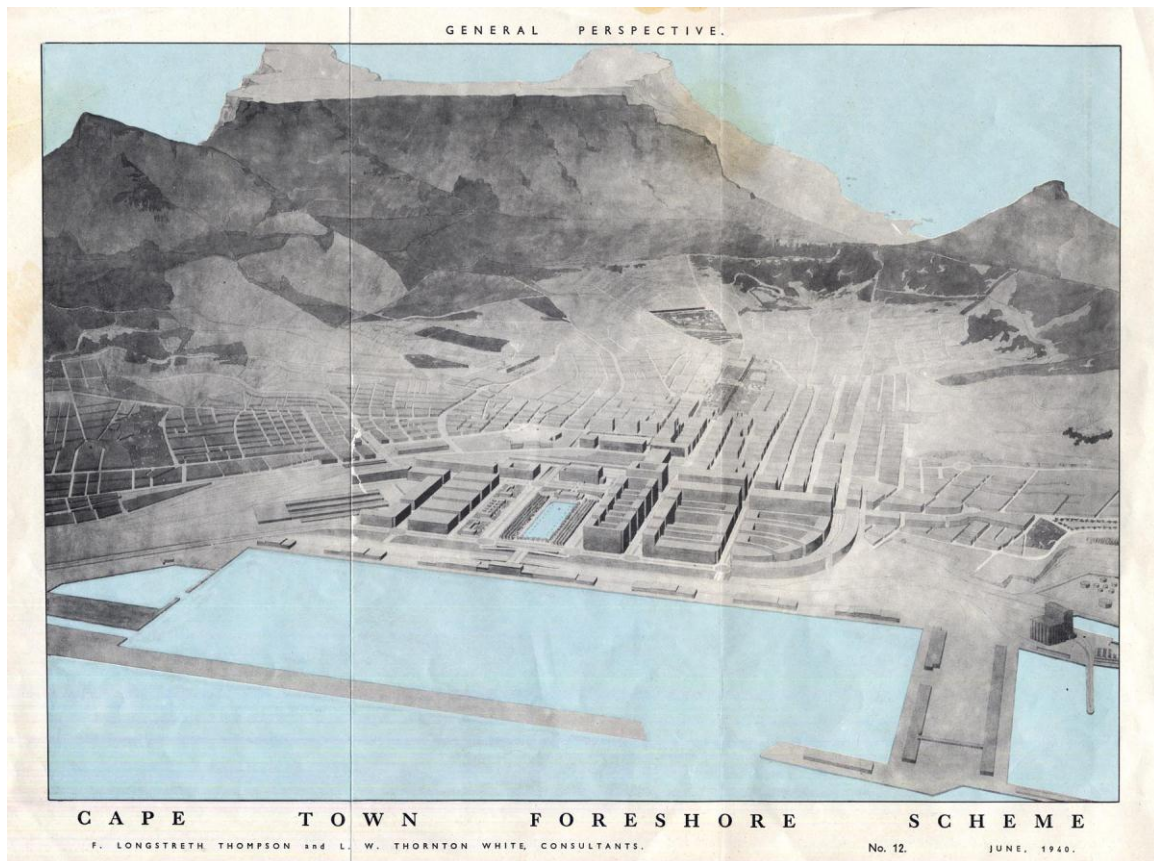


Figure 22 – an aerial perspective, showing the amphitheatre effect created by the mountain, and the axial procession way created from the Monumental Approach. (Longstreth Thompson and Thornton White, *Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme, 1940*)

Despite the similarity in concepts, the 1940 schemes differed on two significant points: a grand boulevard to intersect the Monumental Approach, and the location of the Passenger Station and Goods Yard. Beaudouin's 1940 Report conceived of a significant cross-axis to link the suburbs to the city centre (see Figure 19)<sup>157</sup>. It would form the symbolic link between work and home, leisure and commerce for the ideal (middle-upper class) citizen. It would terminate in a dramatic Civic Plaza space, where the grand axes converged, emphasising the central authority of the newly proposed Civic Centre through monumentality (see Figure 20). The span of the cross-axis would be quite dramatic - wrapping around Signal Hill, passing straight through the city centre, and sweeping up through District Six and Woodstock to meet Rhodes Avenue and De Waal Drive (see Figure 24). This would in turn create another monumental approach: those entering the city by means of the modern motor vehicle would be treated to a dramatic vista of Table Bay, enhancing the qualities of

<sup>157</sup> Under Beaudouin's 1940 scheme, his east-west cross-axis is labelled the Grand Park Boulevard. In the 1947 Plan, the separate arms become known as Boulevard East and Boulevard West respectively. It is only in the late 1960s, with the completion of Boulevard East, that the terms shift to Eastern Boulevard and Western Boulevard. These remain in use for the next 40 years until they are renamed to Nelson Mandela Boulevard and Helen Suzman Boulevard respectively (reflecting a political regime change). To avoid confusion, this thesis will employ the terms most common in the period of study – Boulevard East and Boulevard West.



the City Beautiful movement that emphasised civic pride and beauty. This in turn would complement the existing vistas of De Waal drive, but focus arrival in the 'new city' on the Foreshore. Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson's 1940 Report would also in also provide for a cross-axis linking Sea Point to the CBD, though not to the southern suburbs in a grand boulevard as Beaudouin had proposed (see Figure 21).

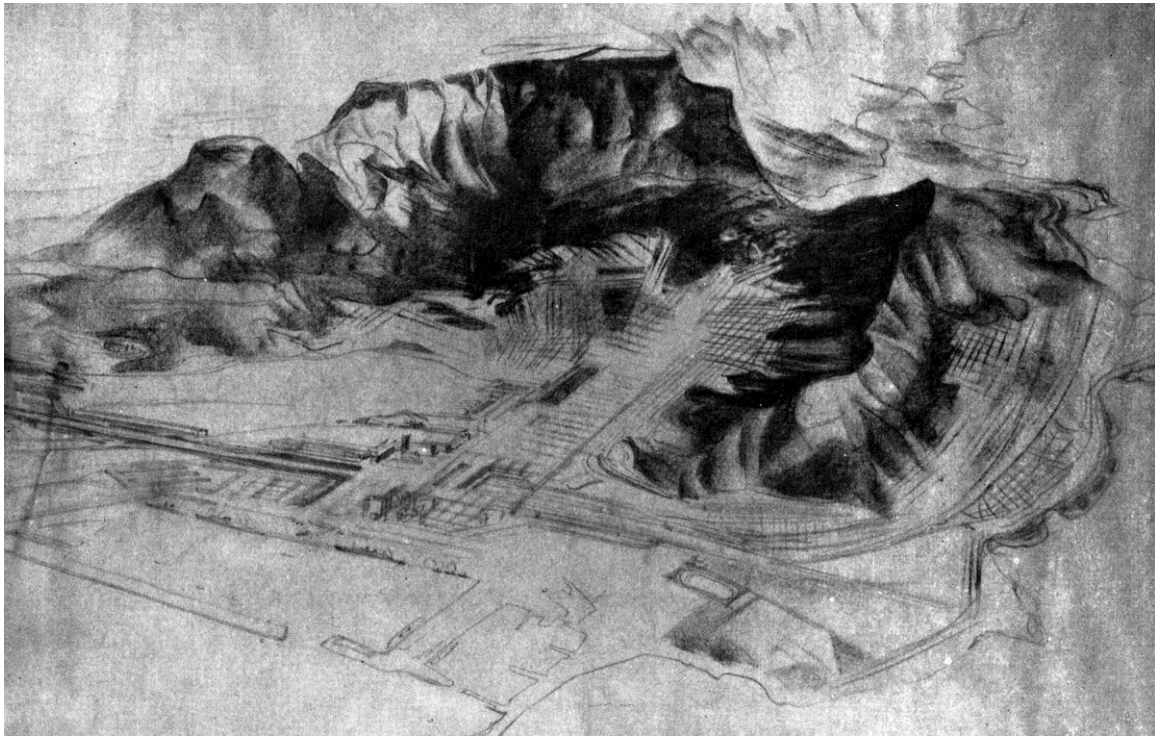


Figure 23 – Beaudouin's initial sketch, showing the grand east-west axis (from *Cape Town, Your City* 1956)

The location of the Passenger Station and Goods Yard reflected the constant negotiations during the 1930s, and continued to drag out over the next six years. SAR&H had stressed during the early phases of the foreshore reclamation that they had justified its expense on the grounds that they would recover their costs through the sale of land, and the much-needed expansion of the Goods Yard, and upgrade of the Passenger Station. While Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson did try several permutations for the location of the Goods Yard and Passenger Station, they arrived at the conclusion that the Passenger Station should remain in its current location, fronting onto Adderley Street, while the Goods Yard would be located a short distance to the east. Beaudouin had kept them in this same position, but the Passenger Station had been sunk below ground, with an open plaza space connecting the new Civic Plaza and Civic Centre to the old civic space of the Grand Parade and City Hall.

The excitement of the 1940 schemes was clearly felt in the City Engineer's Department. In 1941, the Chief Housing Architect's branch produced a scheme that again reflected the influence of the City Beautiful movement in layout, but Modernist in its built form (see Figure 25 & 26). Adderley Street remains the central axis, with a Civic Centre forming the focus of the grouping, located at the intersection of a cross-axial procession way. New roads, such as a large traffic circle behind the Castle, provide the solution to the City's traffic problems, while the Passenger Station remains above ground.

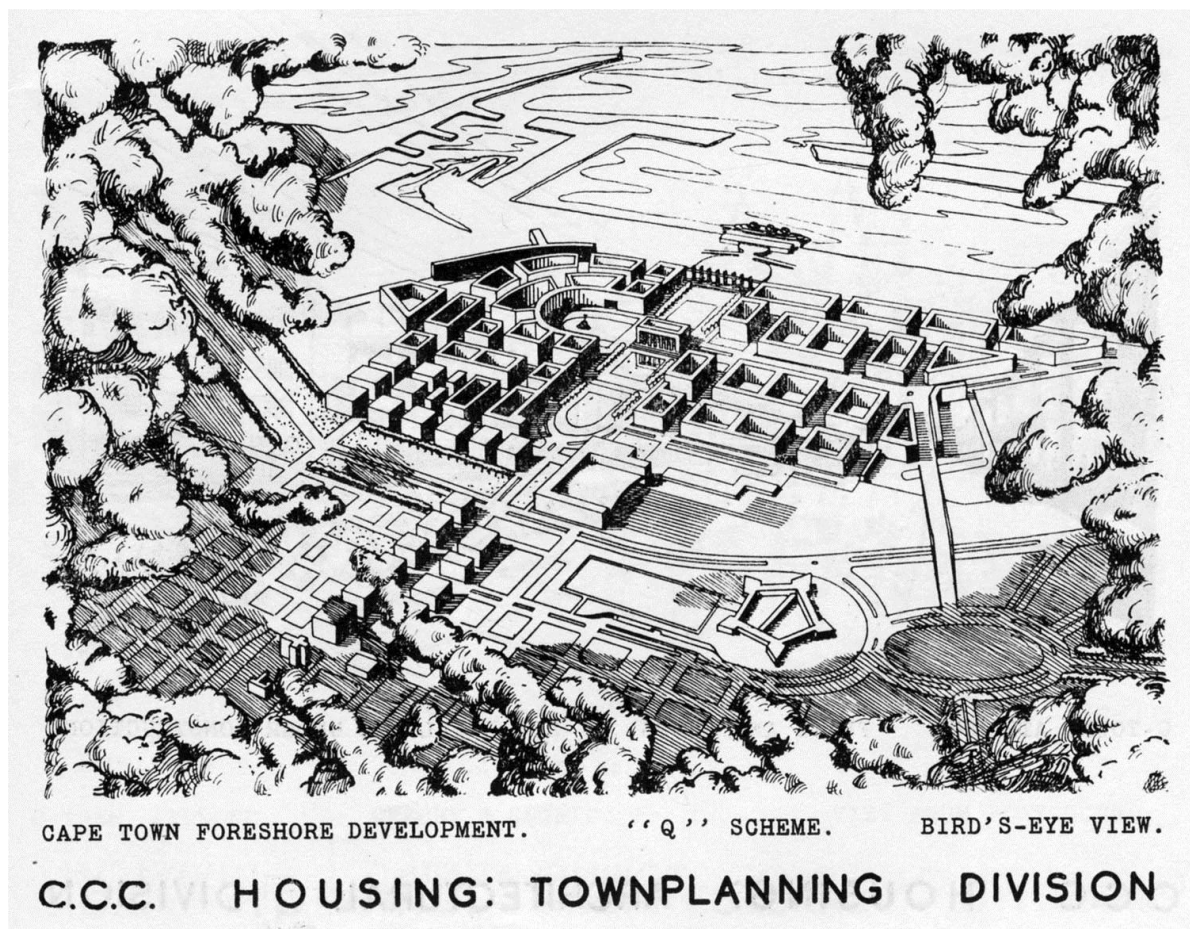


Figure 24 – A 'god-view', peering through the parting clouds, dramatically reveals the 'new city'. The perspective drawing displays the desire to produce a 'city beautiful' when viewed from above, stressing the coherence of a total design. (Anonymous [though the noted Cape Town Modernist architect Max Policansky worked for the city during the war], ARCE 1941)



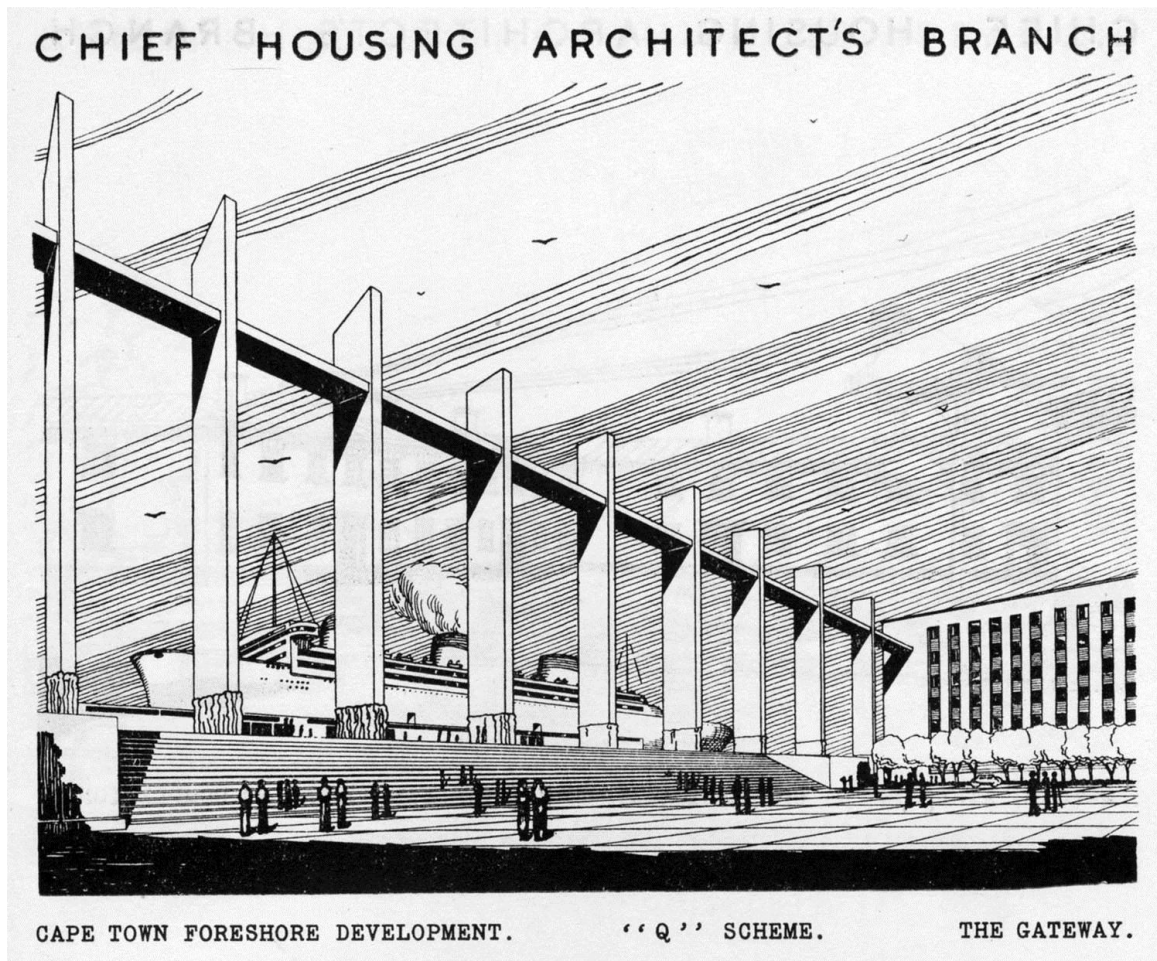


Figure 25 – One of the few ground perspectives, and one of the few containing people. The perspective demonstrates a grand gateway from the ocean, with a large civic plaza framed by dramatic Modernist columns. (Anonymous, ARCE 1941)

### Transnational connections in town planning

Of significance to this study are the schemes and visions for city centres in other parts of the world - Rio de Janeiro, Nairobi and Plymouth, because these demonstrate that the plans for Cape Town were not unique, and reflected contemporary practices in town planning and city design. They also highlight the movement of actors and ideas along transnational networks, particular those emanating from the cultural hegemonic centres of Britain and Europe. The design to see Cape Town as a 'world-class city' invoked the desire to consult 'experts' from world cultural centres - local architects were not considered, despite knowing the cultural contexts (particularly weather patterns) best. In this way, town planning was held as a universal practice – highlighted the universalism of Modernist scientific discourses.



Nairobi is perhaps the more direct comparison that can be made with Cape Town, since both constituted colonial capitals in the British Empire, and while Thornton White had an indirect hand in the design of the Foreshore, he was directly involved in the layout of Nairobi that would determine the built form of the city for many years to come. The planning report, published by the city in 1948, was highly comparable to that of the 1947 Report - a strong discussion around zoning, social surveys, statistical breakdowns of many aspects of the city, and most glaringly: conditions for racial segregation<sup>158</sup>. The visual design, however, displayed Thornton White's affiliation for the ideals of the City Beautiful movement through his classical training, mixed with modern concerns for transport and industry. The plan shows a broad ring road with traffic circle intersections, while a civic centre complex was created through a central civic parade area (see Figure 27). The central axis of the CBD was thus premised on this civic space, though like Cape Town's it is intersected by high-speed traffic lanes (see Figure 28). The report included a series of diagrams, comparing the civic axis plan of Nairobi with that of other schemes in the world - that of Cape Town, Delhi, Washington, Paris, Pretoria and Canberra (see Figure 29), all significant world capitals (though all except Paris are colonial capitals) that draw on grand planning designs and employing grand axes (boulevards) of the City Beautiful movement.

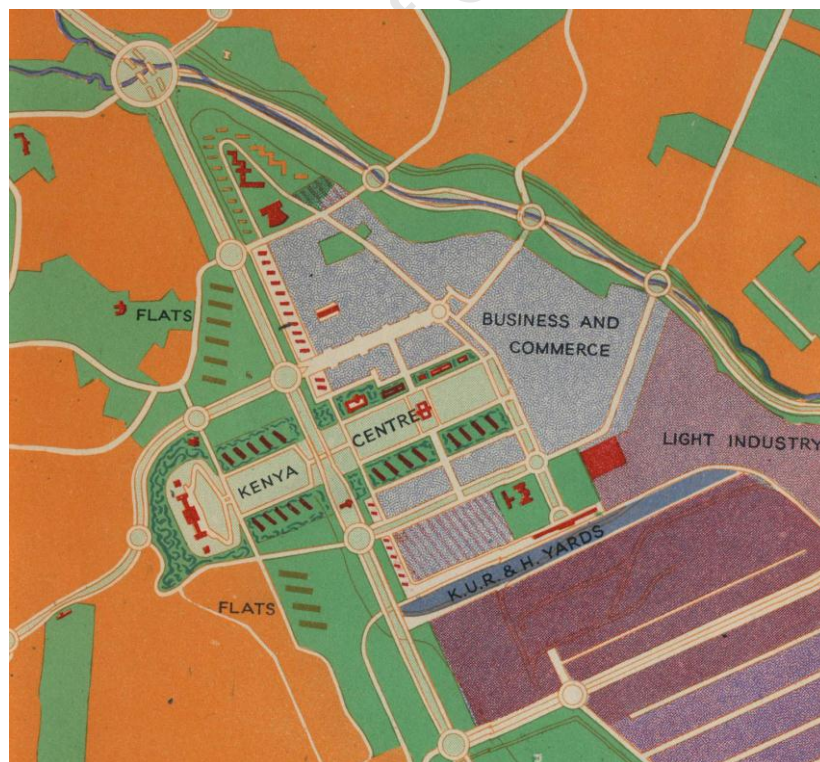


Figure 26 – The central civic grouping, surrounded by areas zoned for commerce, industry and residential (Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948)

<sup>158</sup> L.W. Thornton White, L. Silberman and P.R. Anderson, *Nairobi: Master plan for a colonial capital* (London, 1948)

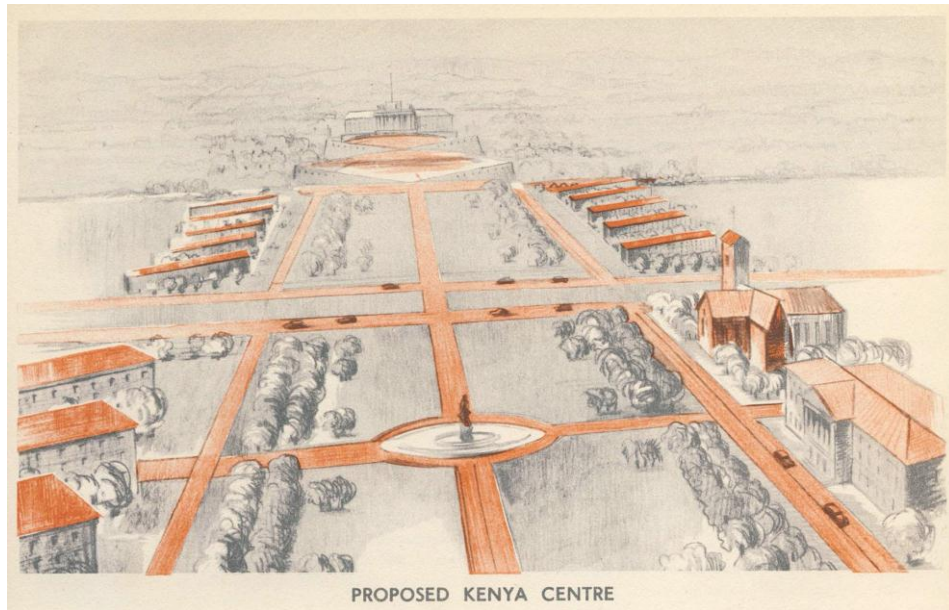


Figure 27 – A monumental approach, signifying the importance of the buildings which administer the territory.  
(*Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948*)

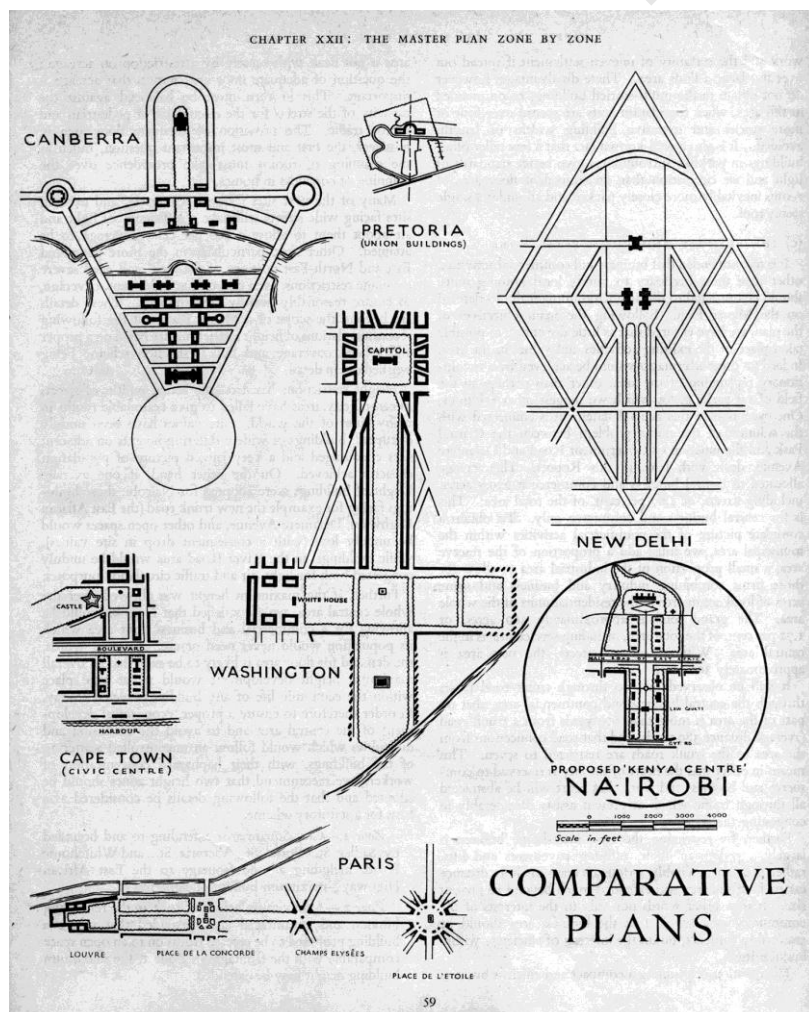


Figure 28 – Thornton White's relation of the influence of the City Beautiful movement through reference to the capital cities that employed grand axes and monumental civic (*Nairobi: Master Plan, 1948*)

Plymouth constitutes another suitable comparison to Cape Town given that they are cities with a strong historical connection to the sea, and that ideas around town planning in South Africa demonstrate a strong connection to British ideas. Plymouth's town centre had been severely damaged from Nazi bombing campaigns, and the rhetoric of reconstruction during and after World War 2 began to envisage a new modern town centre to replace the old. The City Council, under the mayorship of Waldorf Astor<sup>159</sup>, employed the noted planner, Patrick Abercrombie<sup>160</sup>, who with the City Engineer, produced '*A Plan for Plymouth*' in 1943<sup>161</sup>. Not only would the report rebuild the city, it would provide for new transport networks - significantly a new ring road system and county highway system. The city centre would also employ the visual ordering device of a central axis - this one anchored on the seaside end by the memorials on the Hoe, on the other by the transport hub of the central railway station, and pivoting off the central civic buildings of the old Guild Hall and St Andrew's Church (see Figure 30 & 31). Correct zoning established select areas for hotels, shopping and residential areas, while the role of Francis Drake as a significant historical figure of the city is frequently invoked. Essex and Brayshay note, however, that monumental axis was conceived on a whim by Astor's wife and Abercrombie, and entered into the plan as a dominant feature that was not informed by local consultation, and did not enjoy widespread support, particularly from the local business community<sup>162</sup>. Constant negotiations between the City Council and the Government resulted in a series of compromises that ultimately led to the perceived failure of the grand vision of the plan.

---

<sup>159</sup> American born but raised in Britain, Astor's family were wealthy with strong political connections, connections that Astor leveraged strongly in his vision for Plymouth

<sup>160</sup> One of the most prominent figures of his time, he was Professor of Civic Design at the Liverpool University School of Architecture, and later Professor of Town Planning at University College London. He was noted for his work on Dublin, Hull, Bath, Edinburgh and Bournemouth, though his work on the re-planning of London through his reports of 1942 and 1943 are perhaps his most famous.

<sup>161</sup> James Paton Watson and Sir Patrick Abercrombie, *A Plan for Plymouth - The Report Prepared for the City Council* (Plymouth, 1943)

<sup>162</sup> Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay, 'Vision, Vested Interest and Pragmatism: Who re-made Britain blitzed cities?', *Planning Perspectives*, 22, 4, 2007, pg.436



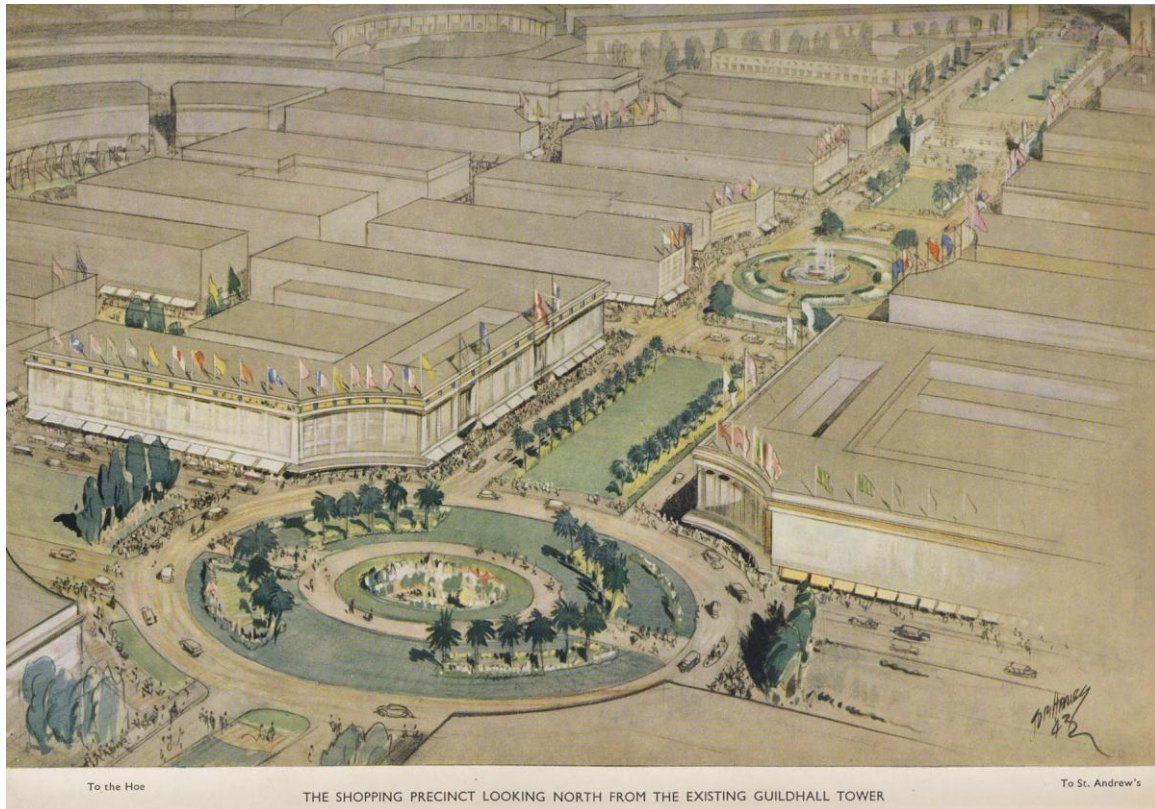


Figure 29 – the central axis of the 'new' Plymouth, providing a central gathering space for citizens, and highlighting a sense of civic grandeur, emphasised by specific zoning for commerce. (*A Plan for Plymouth, 1943*)



Figure 30 – an overhead map emphasising the neat geometry of the main ceremonial axis (a Monumental Approach), linked to the harbour and terminating at the main train station. (*A Plan for Plymouth*, 1943)

Rio de Janeiro is perhaps the most tenuous comparison, but is noteworthy in that the Town Planning Officer of Cape Town was given leave in 1936 to visit Rio and examine their new plans for the harbour<sup>163</sup>. He returned bearing one of the more significant visions for Rio produced in the early twentieth century - that of Donat Alfred Agache<sup>164</sup> (a gift to the City of Cape Town, and later housed in the library of the City Engineer's Department). A notable diagram is that of the proposed civic centre complex at the waterfront - employing the strong visual language of the link to the harbour in

<sup>163</sup> Minutes and Proceedings of Council 1936

<sup>164</sup> Donat Alfred Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro; Extensão, remodelação e embelezamento, 1926-1930* (Paris, 1930)



Rio's history, creating a procession way via monumental columns to a parade flanked by legislative buildings (see Figure 32 and 33). Like Beaudouin, Agache was a product of the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts*, though both had adopted many modern forms in their work. Margareth da Silva Pereira does point out that his plans were not well received by the public (businessmen had a significant say in implementation of city schemes), though later implemented in parts<sup>165</sup>. Like South Africa, Brazil in the nineteenth and early twentieth century largely looked to Europe for ideas around town planning, and Modernist concepts of 'progress'.

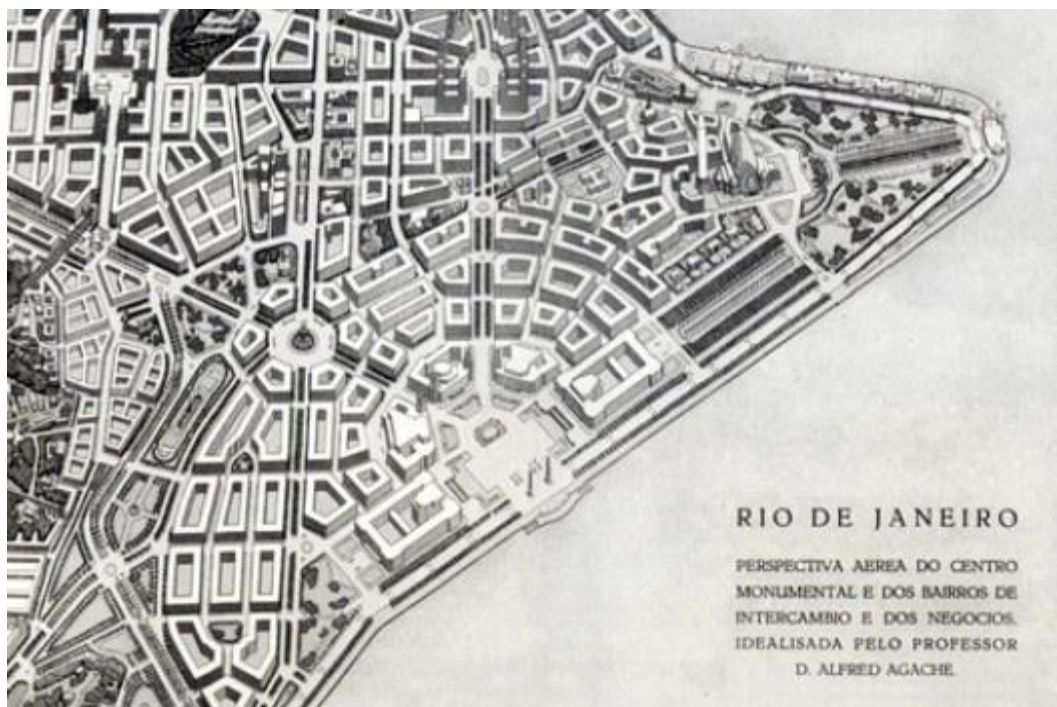


Figure 31 – An orderly city of uniform buildings and grand axes – all converging on the main civic grouping by the waterfront. (Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, 1930)



Figure 32 – An aerial perspective of the monumental civic grouping, emphasised by the tall flanking columns that frame entry from the ocean. (Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, 1930)

<sup>165</sup> Margareth da Silva Pereira, 'The Time of the Capitals: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Words, Actors and Plans' in Arturo Almandoz (ed) *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950* (New York, 2002), pg. 103-5



### Further contestation and final compromise

With the considerable similarity between the two 1940 Reports, a Joint Technical Committee was established in 1942 between the City Council and SAR&H to decide on a final plan<sup>166</sup>. But as in the past, negotiations broke down over the siting of the Passenger Station and Goods Yard. The City Council motivated for these to be either sunk, or moved further onto the Foreshore – which SAR&H rejected outright. The matter would drag on for another two years before Lunn, the City Engineer, published a report to Council in 1944, laying out their position on the matter<sup>167</sup>.

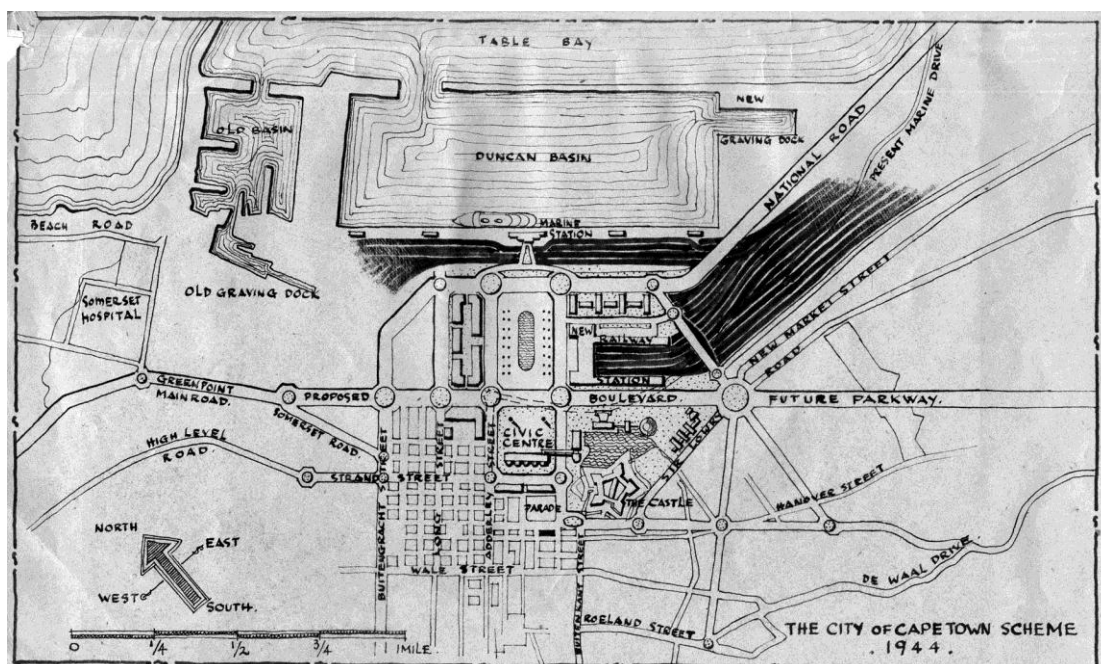


Figure 33 – Overhead map of Lunn's interpretation of Beaudouin's 1940 scheme. The Passenger Station has been pushed even further away onto the Foreshore, and the Castle has attracted significant landscaping through the creation of a water park on its north side. (Lunn, *The City Engineer's report*, 1944)

Lunn argued that the opportunity to construct a Civic Centre complex was one essential to Cape Town, particularly in lieu of the loss of the city's waterfront to the docks, and with an integrated transport network that could finally solve Cape Town's traffic problems. Lunn's 1944 Report argued that the Passenger Station should be pushed further onto the Foreshore, away from the Castle. His

<sup>166</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan: final report of the Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee*, June 1947 (Pretoria, 1948), pg. 30

<sup>167</sup> City Council of Cape Town, *The City Engineer's report on the railway administration's plan for the development of the reclaimed Cape Town foreshore area* (Cape Town: City Engineer's Department, 1944)

report also contained striking perspective sketches of the Foreshore – grand visions of an idealised and cityscape (and significant in communicating how a lived form of the city might look like). Based on Beaudouin's 1940 Report, the grand civic plaza (formed at the intersection of the Monumental Approach and the cross-axial boulevard) is highlighted by the added emphasis of the Civic Centre and Passenger Station. The Monumental Approach park and the boating lake around the Castle indicate the prevalence of civic leisure space (see Figure 35), while the wide roads and traffic circles are a solution to Cape Town's narrow, congested streets (see Figure 36). Pedestrians navigated this web of roads with seeming ease, and the overall impression of the scheme is one of order and control. The layouts and building shapes indicate the convergences between the City Beautiful movement and the High Modernism.

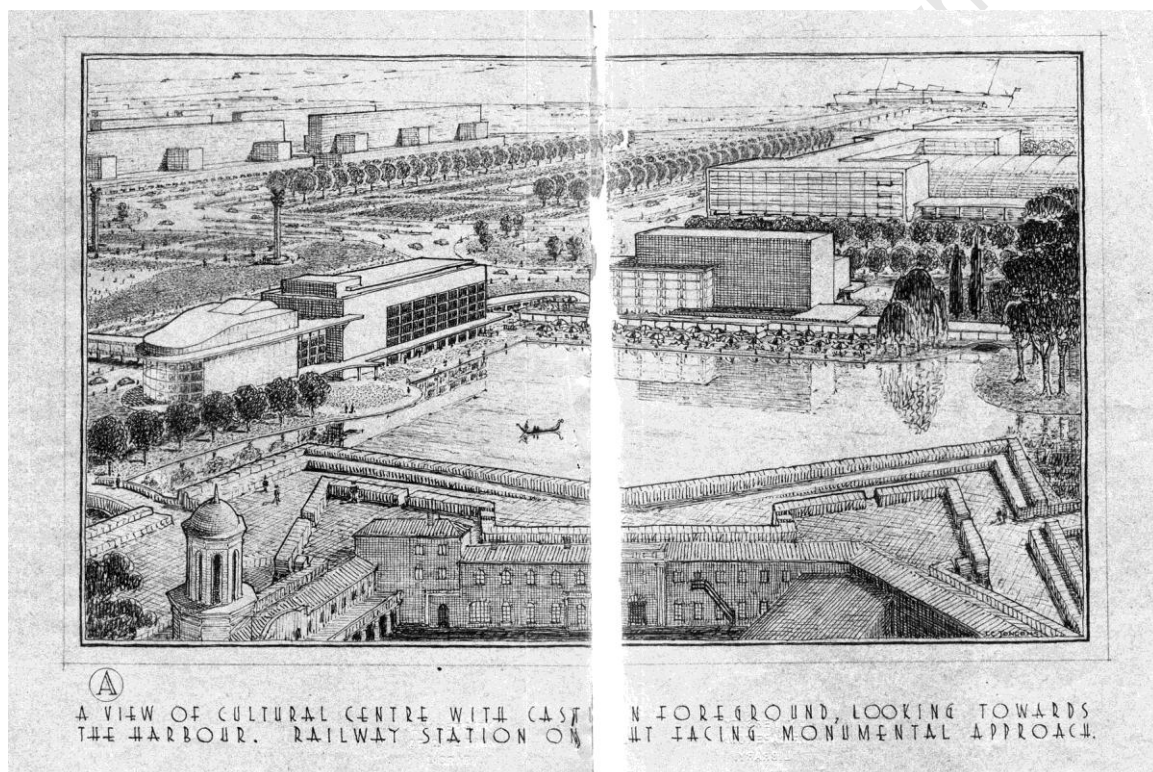


Figure 34 – a perspective from above the Castle, highlighting the pleasure lake and surrounding buildings (done in the 'International Style'). The park space of the Monumental Approach dominates the foreground, and the ocean liner emphasises the sea-based entry to the city. (Illustration by JC Jongens. Lunn, *The City Engineer's report*, 1944)



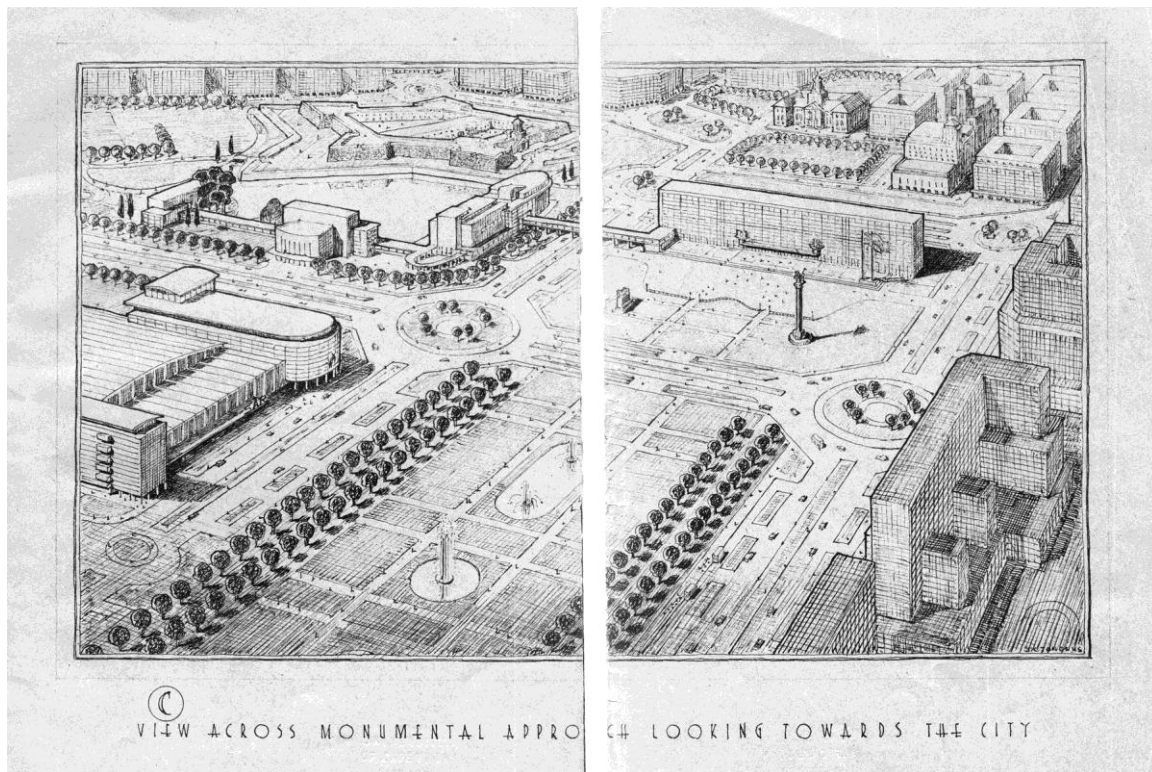


Figure 35 – a higher aerial perspective, focusing on the monumental civic plaza that frames the Civic Centre, and the broad roads with great big traffic circles to ensure constant-flowing traffic. (Illustration by JC Jongens. Lunn, *The City Engineer's report*, 1944)

Despite the City Council's advocacy of Lunn's 1944 Report, SAR&H rejected, resulting in another deadlock. Yet another committee was established to reach a solution. An appeal was sent to the Minister of Transport, who appointed the Szlumper Committee in 1945<sup>168</sup>. This was chaired by a British transport officer, Major Szlumper, and two representatives of each party. SAR&H chose Thornton White, and Major Clark, while Mayor Nyman and Deputy Mayor Bloomberg represented the city. The Committee seemed weighed in SAR&H's favour; Szlumper and Clark were transport engineers, technocrats with convincing skills and a military mindset - the former had recently been appointed by SAR&H to advise on the new station layout in Johannesburg<sup>169</sup>, while Thornton White carried a heavy academic backing, and had a reputation for a forceful attitude. Nyman and Bloomberg were non-specialists, elected councillors who were appointed to their titles from within the Council. The outcome reflected the power imbalance in the Committee, for even the compromise solution of accepting the Passenger Station on Adderley Street, but with a submerged station and lines, was rejected. Instead, the compromise placed a wide pedestrian deck over the

<sup>168</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 30-31

<sup>169</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1945, pg. 9

platforms, thus keeping the Monumental Approach connection between the Foreshore and the Grand Parade-City Hall complex<sup>170</sup>.

## The 1947 Plan

With the matter of the Station Deck settled, the decades old-calls for a resolution to the barrier of the railway lines appeared to have gone firmly in favour of SAR&H. The key elements of the 1930s schemes – a rehabilitation of Cape Town’s waterfront through a sinking or setback of the Passenger Station – would remain unfulfilled. The recommendations of the Szlumper Committee were incorporated in the new Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee (CTFJTC), who brought Beaudouin back in 1945 to advise on further details of the scheme. Significantly, the Chief Town Planning Officer was Roy Kantorowich, who had participated in the student scheme of the 1938 Town Planning Congress. Together with the CTFJTC Beaudouin worked on two further schemes, one in 1945 (see Figure 37 & 38) and the next in 1946 (which altered the 1945 scheme)<sup>171</sup>. The 1945 scheme adopted Beaudouin’s 1940 Report (a compromise no doubt aimed at placating the City Council who had to compromise over the Station Deck), with the Monumental Approach, and grand cross-axial boulevard, which terminated in a grand civic plaza space. The 1946 scheme added a further modification: it had the eastern arm of the Grand Boulevard terminate at Adderley Street, which then diverted traffic along a significantly widened Adderley to two great traffic circles. This split would wrap around the new shopping precinct - Adderley Place - before re-joining on the other side to connect with the western arm of the Boulevard (see Figure 38). The 1946 scheme was finally submitted as a Draft Plan to Parliament, who accepted and tabled what would become the Final Report of the CTFJTC in 1947 (the 1947 Plan)<sup>172</sup>.

---

<sup>170</sup> Pinnock incorrectly quotes this outcome as a decision to sink the railway lines. Pinnock, ‘Ideology and urban planning’, pg.152

<sup>171</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *Cape Town Foreshore Plan, Interim Report* (June 1946), pg. 5

<sup>172</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*



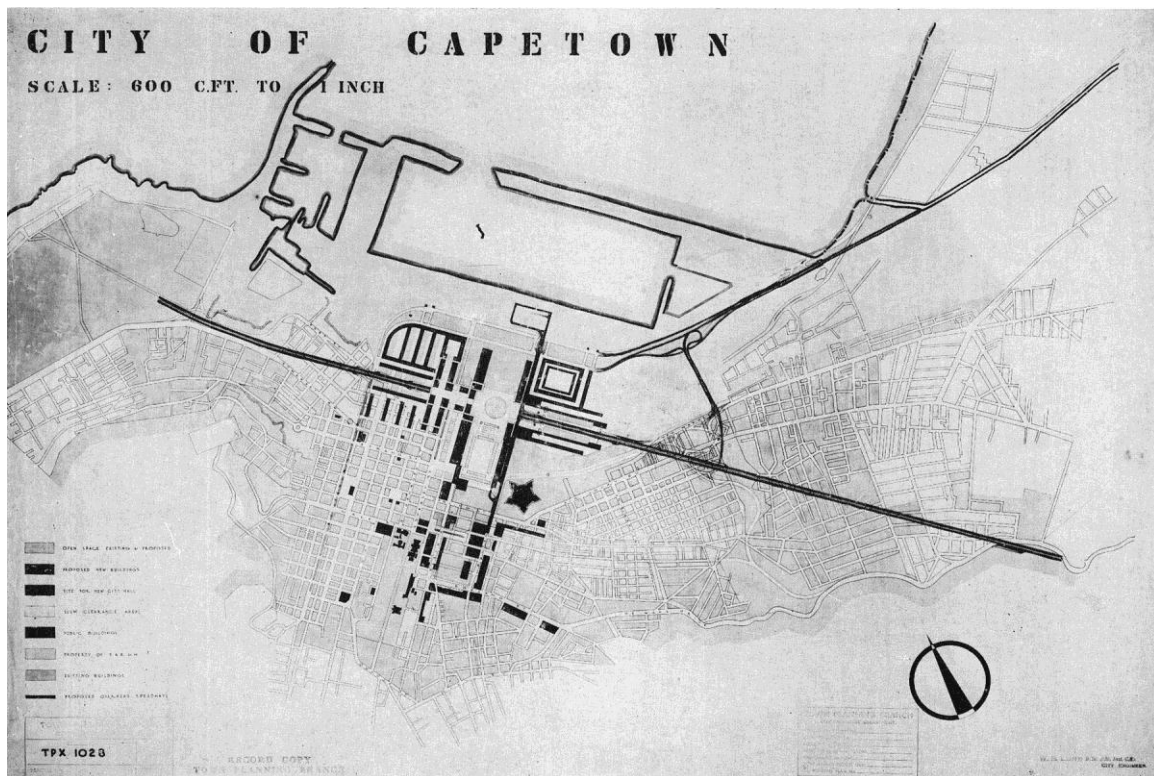
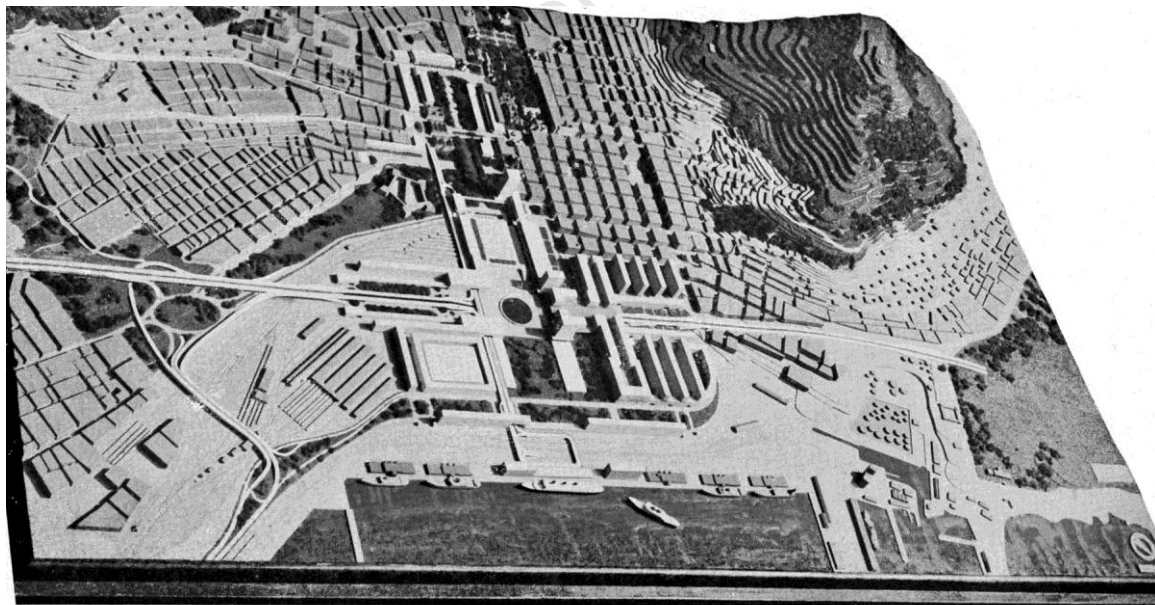


Figure 36 – An overhead map, rendering the landscape in ‘neutral’ terms, with the grand boulevard drawn in a very neat line that apparently seems to ignore the contours of the landscape (1947 Plan)



Preliminary Scheme for Cape Town Foreshore Area.

[Model by Town Planning Branch to the Design of M. E. E. Beaudouin, July 1945.]

Figure 37 - A model of Beaudouin's revised 1945 Scheme (ARCE 1945)

The 1947 Plan became the basis for the future development of the Foreshore, located in a context of post-war reconstructivist vigour. This context was noted by Dubow as holding potential for rapid social change:

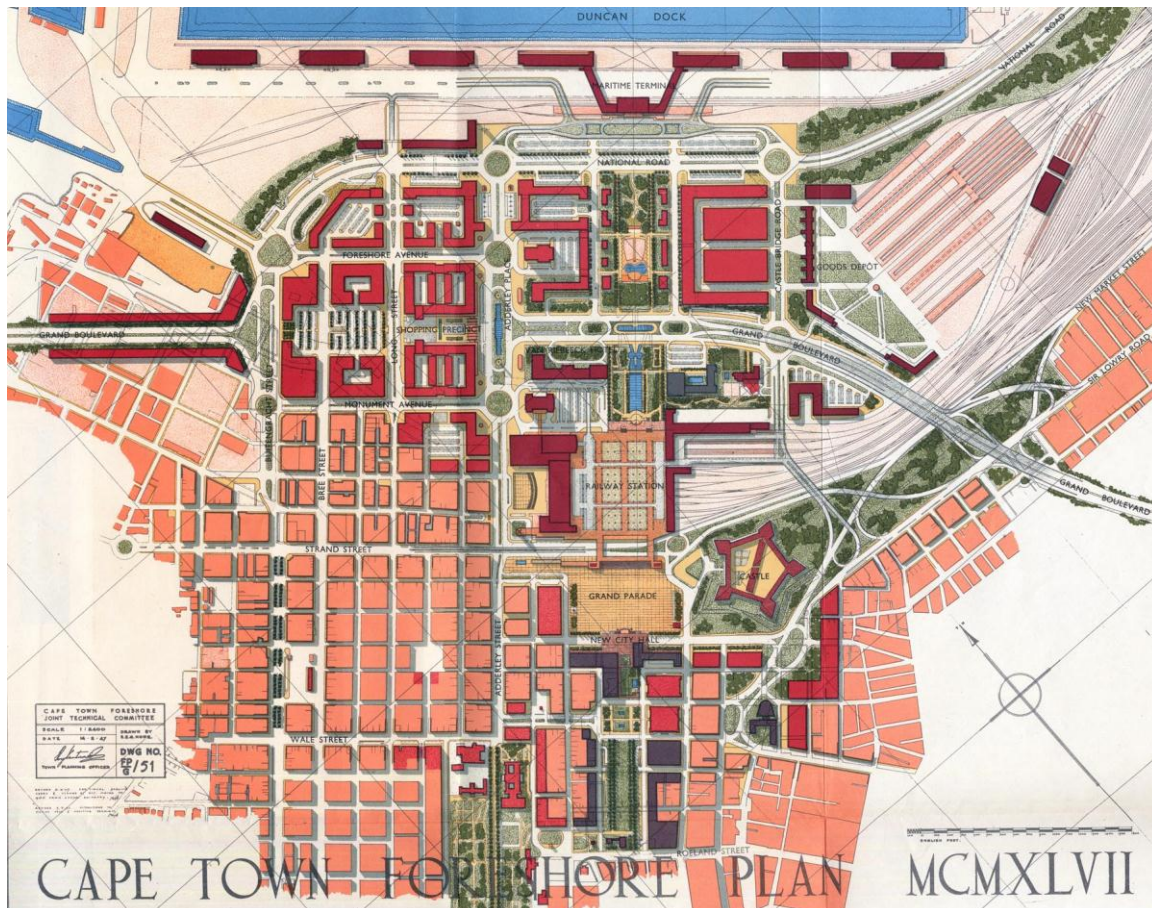
The potential for rapid change was brought about by rapid developments in technologies, spurred by ideologies of Fordism and Taylorism, and gave rise to “competing visions of the future (which) were articulated in a politically charged domestic environment and developed in the interstices of a government preoccupied with the war effort.”<sup>173</sup>

However, like all schemes before it, the 1947 Plan failed to take into account two major obstacles. The Foreshore was occupied by two significant industrial groupings - the Table Bay Power Station and the Imperial Cold Storage warehouses. Both were key components of Cape Town’s economy, and both had significant bulk and railways to supply them. They conformed to the old Dock Road orientation that followed the former coastline of Table Bay (and which did not fit neatly into the new modern grid). It was estimated however, that they both only had a potential lifespan of 25 years, and thus the 1947 Plan would have to be one implemented in phases over a number of years.

---

<sup>173</sup> Saul Dubow, ‘Introduction: South Africa’s 1940s’ in Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves (eds), *South Africa’s 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities* (Cape Town, 2005), pg. 2





would in turn provide a stimulus for the area, and transform it from an industrial district into a new civic and parliamentary precinct.

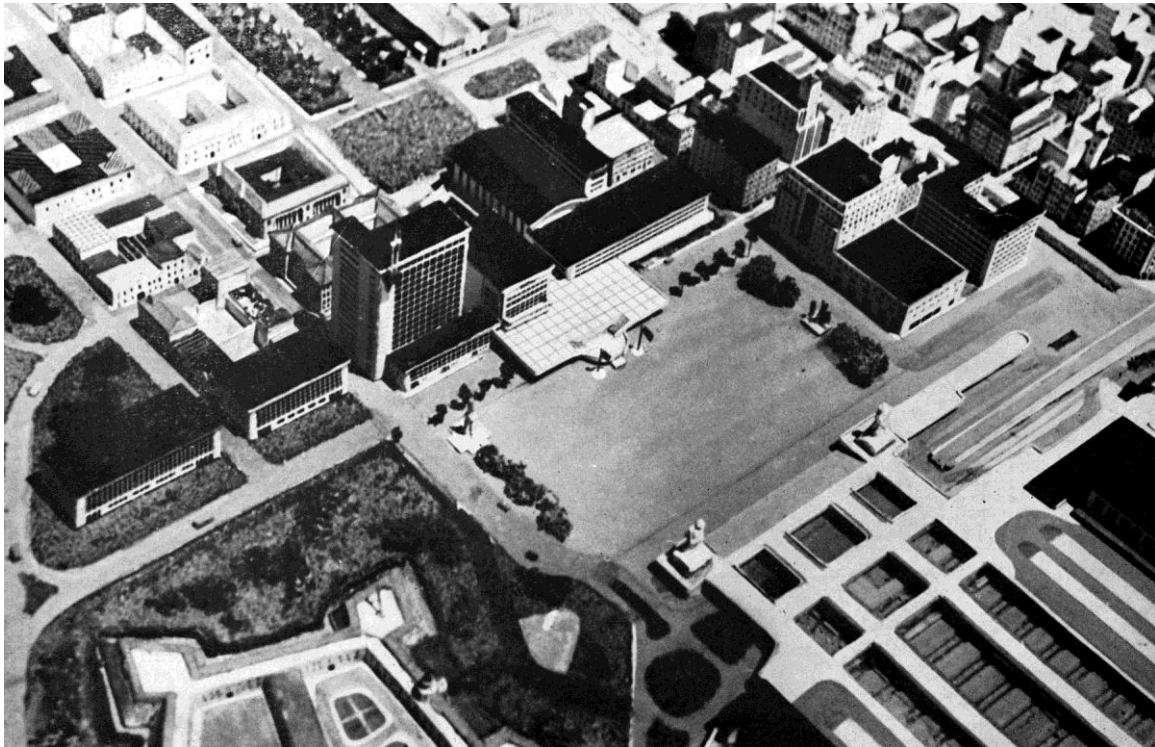


Figure 39 – The new Civic Centre, built on the site of the old City Hall. Behind it is the gardens linking it to the Parliamentary complex. Connecting it to the 'new city' is the station deck, with flanking statues and wide stairs, while another deck connects the Civic Centre to the Grand Parade. (1947 Plan)

The Castle would continue to be a central figure in all the schemes, and calls for its preservation were the strongest throughout the planning phases. It would not have the boating lake of Lunn's 1944 Report (see Figure 35), but instead the surrounding area would be landscaped into a park - extending from the Castle Interchange (connecting Boulevard East and the Foreshore over the railway lines) to the parade<sup>175</sup>. This formed part of a landscaping theme in the plans, which were a constant theme in Modernist town planning<sup>176</sup>. The call for leisure space, with suitable park and recreational amenities, were in response to the crowded urbanisation of the nineteenth century. The perspective drawings for the 1947 Plan emphasise the open space created by the wide roads and spaces between buildings, and provide substantial extension of green spaces from the Monumental Approach Garden, to the Castle Park, and even a garden space on the sit of the Old

<sup>175</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 55-56

<sup>176</sup> See the emphasis placed on landscaping in the 1938 Town Planning Congress.



Passenger Station (see Figure 39)<sup>177</sup>. The decking over the railway platforms would even include landscaping.



Figure 40 – A watercolour perspective from ground level, showing very few people in the landscape. All the buildings display the regular, restrained façade of Modernist architecture. (Bernard Cooke , 1947 Plan)



Figure 41 – An aerial view, showing the orderly nature of the city as a whole. It is unusual that Cooke rendered the sky grey and gloomy. Perhaps it was to highlight the soft colours of the city below. (Bernard Cooke, 1947 Plan)

---

<sup>177</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 57

An entire chapter of the 1947 Plan was devoted to zoning, the modernist expression of creating dedicated spaces for particular functions<sup>178</sup>. Zoning would also include new controls for building bulk and height limits. The perspective of this showed a neat, orderly cityscape, with a strict uniformity of height, shape and form. All buildings would be restricted to around 60 feet, while select exceptions would allow for taller skyscrapers, but only on sites specifically zoned, so as not to disrupt the careful flow of the total design (see Figure 46)<sup>179</sup>. Elimination of overhead tram and electric lines, unsightly advertising billboards, controlled building facades and carefully designed street furniture, were all part of a new, radically ordered and controlled cityscape.



Figure 42 – The irregular and decorative facades of Adderley Street, combined with overhead tram wires, that Modernist architects decried. (1947 Plan)

The 1947 Plan also announced a clear break with the old, classical tradition in architecture, arguing for the superiority of the new, modern forms, which by their innovation and adaptability, were held to be superior;

Although the modern movement in architecture has, for the most, ended the rather misguided predilection for clothing modern structures in the stylistic trappings of earlier

---

<sup>178</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 63-69

<sup>179</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 66-69



architectural periods long gone by, the modern idiom itself is still in the process of crystallisation; in fact, the continuous re-examination of its aesthetic tenets is a sign of its vitality and readiness to face new problems as they arise.<sup>180</sup>

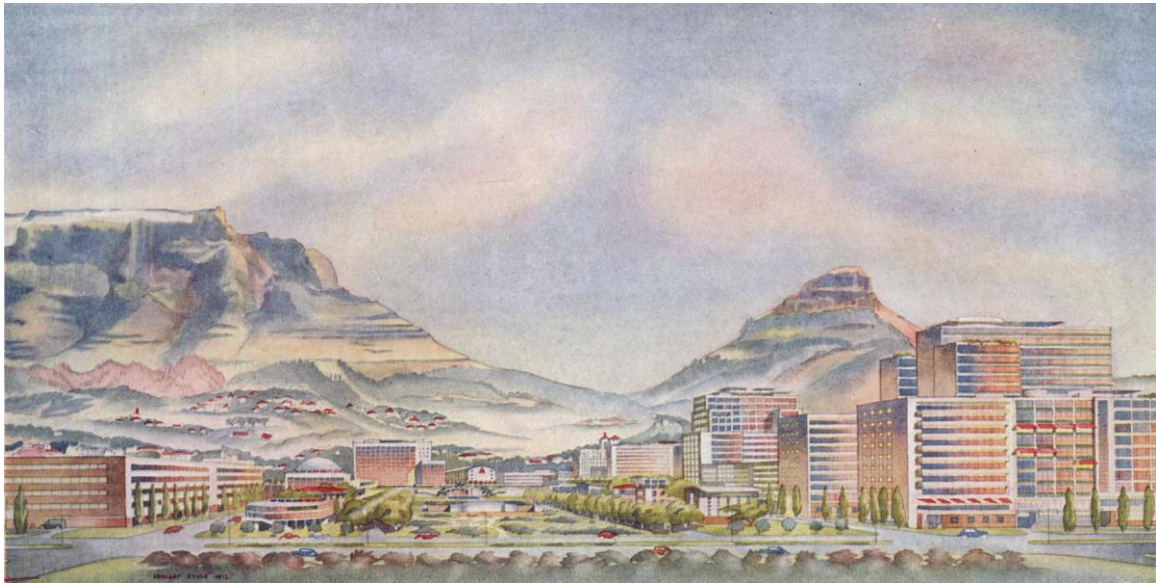


Figure 43 – An elevated perspective looking up the Monumental Approach from the Maritime Terminal. The buildings appear as a bland complex, not intruding on the view of the mountain. (Bernard Cooke, 1947 Plan)

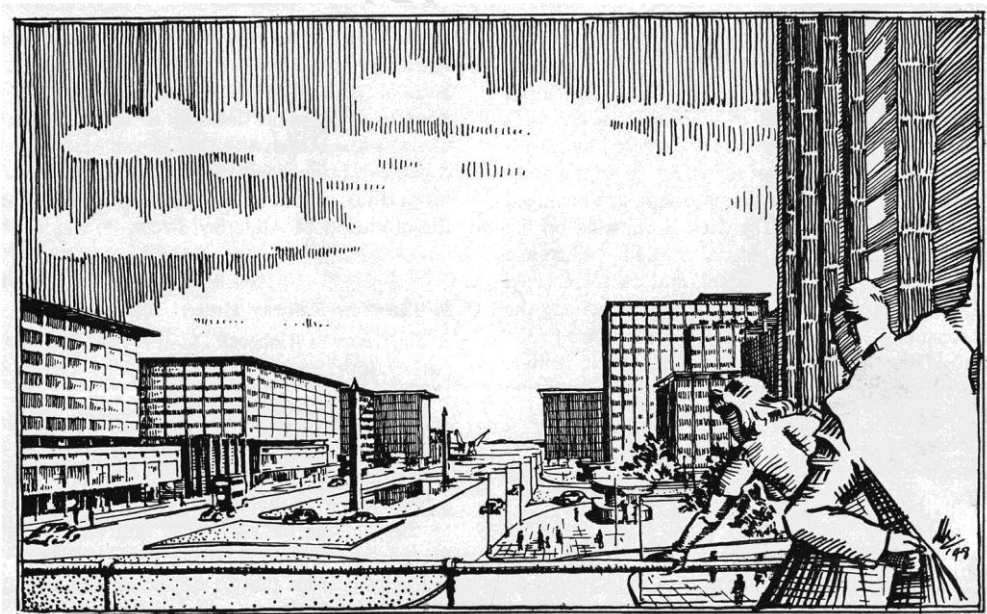


Figure 44 – A sketch of the model citizens of the new city, gazing up Adderley Street to the harbour, admiring the smooth flow of traffic along the wide boulevards. (Roy Kantorowich, 1947 Plan)

---

<sup>180</sup> Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*, pg. 105-106



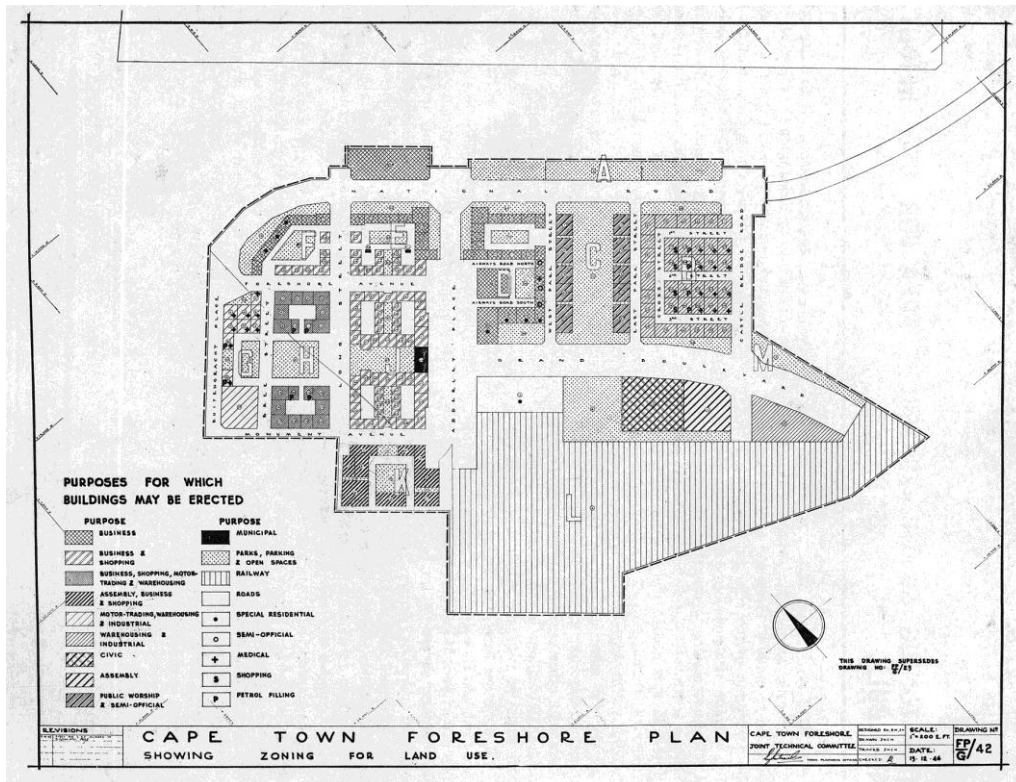


Figure 45 – A clear Modernist tool of zoning – the Foreshore was divided into specific functional areas, rather than mixed-use areas. Zoning would also allow control of height and setbacks. (1947 Plan)

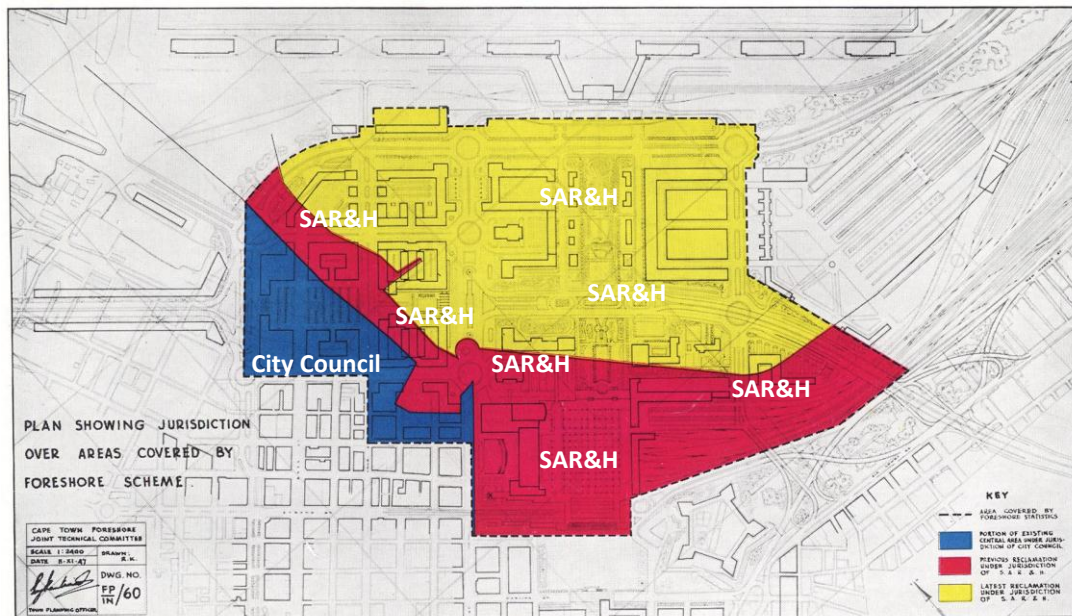


Figure 46 – The complex nature of land ownership on the Foreshore – the narrow strip on the left represents land under the City Council's control, while the rest is land controlled by SAR&H. (1947 Plan)

The 1947 Plan was thus a grand statement of post-war optimism and Modernist sentiment – the convergence of transnational ideas of town planning that were brought to bear on Cape Town by foreign architects and town planners. It represented the culmination of continuous lobbying by the Cape elite for solutions to the perceived problems inhibiting the city's growth and 'progress' – that of the railways and harbour. This in turn was countered by the differing priorities of the SAR&H, and the eventual pragmatic compromises that the City Council was compelled to make. From here the Foreshore's development would be framed by the 1947 Plan, though its final implementation would be altered, and subject to further negotiations and contestations between local, provincial and national authorities.

University of Cape Town

### CHAPTER 3 : Afrikanerisation of the Foreshore

The compromise between the City Council and SAR&H in the form of the 1947 Plan would be subject to further debate and contestation in the form of the 1951 *Metropolis of Tomorrow Report* (MoT). This was due to the rapid growth of Cape Town's suburbs, and the rising use of the motor vehicle to convey people to and from the city. It also marked a shift from the visions of architects and businessmen to the pragmatic implementations of engineers – principally the City Engineer of Cape Town, Solomon Morris. All of this took place in the context of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, which played out through the increasing 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore. This process was initiated by the Van Riebeeck Festival of 1952, and continued by the Foreshore Board: a body that controlled the development of the Foreshore, but which was in effect controlled by central government. Of significance to the theme of visions and 'utopias' by architects is the "Cape Town, Your City" exhibition of 1956. This exhibition signified the prevalence of Modernist thinking in a post-war context, of the "modern as the guarantor of efficiency, progress and human satisfaction."<sup>181</sup>



Figure 47 – The Royal Visit of 1947, a significant moment of South African loyalism to the British Empire – a sentiment that would be eclipsed by Afrikaner Republicanism. The terminal of Adderley Street in the state of Van Riebeeck, where the municipal pier once was, highlights the old ceremonial approach from the sea. (Mayor's Minutes 1947)

<sup>181</sup> Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism', pg. 852

## The Metropolis of Tomorrow

1948 would prove to be an inauspicious date for the 1947 Plan's official release, for it was quickly overshadowed by the 1948 election, which brought Malan's National Party to power. With Sturrock, the former United Party Minister of Transport no longer championing the new passenger terminal, the new administration had it shelved. Unfortunately, it seems as though the central government neglected to inform the City Council of these intentions. It was only later, in the 1980s, that Morris received a copy of a letter written to Professor Pryce Lewis<sup>182</sup>, confirming that SAR&H Administration had put the competition for the new terminal on hold indefinitely<sup>183</sup>. The key anchoring element of the foreshore design, the entrance to the 'Gateway to South Africa', and main focus point of any future civilian contact with the ocean on the foreshore, was abandoned. For the next 20 years, maritime passenger numbers would diminish, and then level out. Air passenger numbers on the other hand, would increase exponentially (see Figure 49 & 50), along with profits – in 1962 South African Airways posted a profit of R1,077,162<sup>184</sup>, and by 1970 this had increased to R7,586,522<sup>185</sup>. No doubt SAR&H saw little grounds for investing heavily in a passenger terminal at Table Bay Harbour, instead choosing to focus on the Republic's largest port - Durban. Nevertheless, the Gateway to African Committee<sup>186</sup>, the City Council, the Civic Centre Committee and the Foreshore Board continued to labour under the impression that the chief component of the foreshore design would be completed.

---

<sup>182</sup> A noted South African Modernist, Pryce Lewis had excelled as a student in England, and after the war had gone into partnership with Thornton White and FL Sturrock (son of FC Sturrock).

<sup>183</sup> Solomon Morris, *The Cape Town Foreshore Scheme - Origins and Evolution*, Paper presented to the Interbou 80 Building Conference (Johannesburg, 1980), pg. 21-22

<sup>184</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1970, pg. 87

<sup>185</sup> SAR&H-ARGM 1970, pg. 8

<sup>186</sup> Comprised of elite figures in Cape Town, it was charged with the realisation of the Monumental Approach.



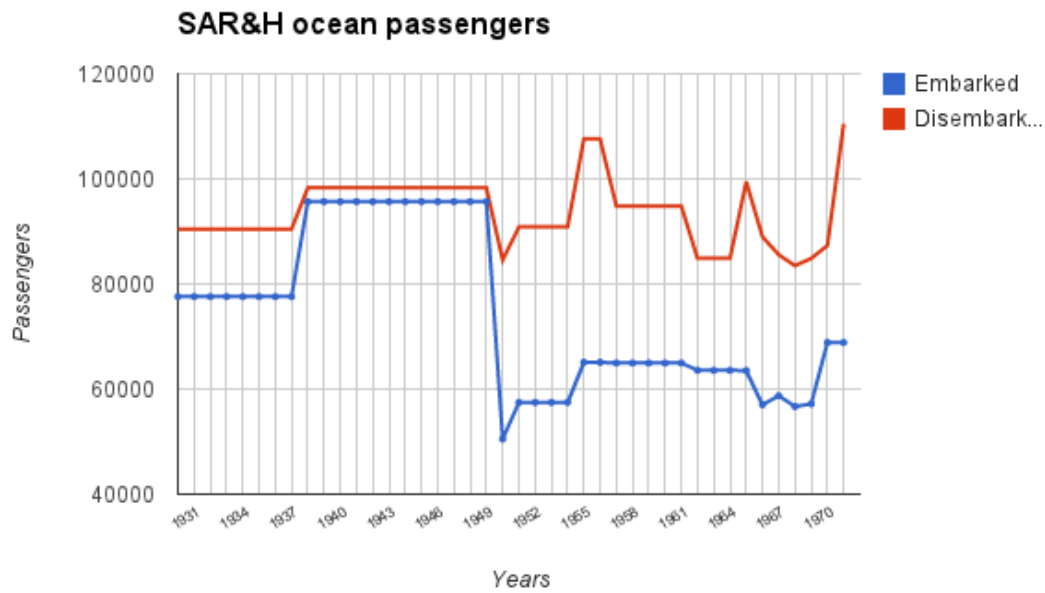


Figure 48 – Passenger numbers stagnate during the inter-war years, with small spikes and dips throughout the 50s and 60s. The reports unfortunately do not offer statistics for individual ports. (SAR&H-ARGM 1930-1970)



Figure 49 – The exponential growth in air passengers number is particularly evident in the mid-60s. Unfortunately, the reports do not differentiate between embarking and disembarking passengers, making it difficult to estimate when air passengers overtook ocean passengers, but this does appear likely by 1951 (SAR&H-ARGM 1930-1970)

The appointment of Solomon Morris as City Engineer in 1950 saw post-war town planning in Cape Town dominated by a civil engineering approach rather than an architectural one. Whereas architects would employ planning to emphasis the form of buildings and cities from a design point of



view, civil engineers saw it as a means to ensure the proper provision of services (water, sewerage, electricity, amenities) and efficient transport networks. It was a distinct shift from idealised, aesthetically pleasing city form, to a more practical, functional form. Interventions would no longer be grounded in grand monumental civic concepts, but through the correct application of ‘rational’ engineering principles, grounded in rigorous ‘scientific method’.

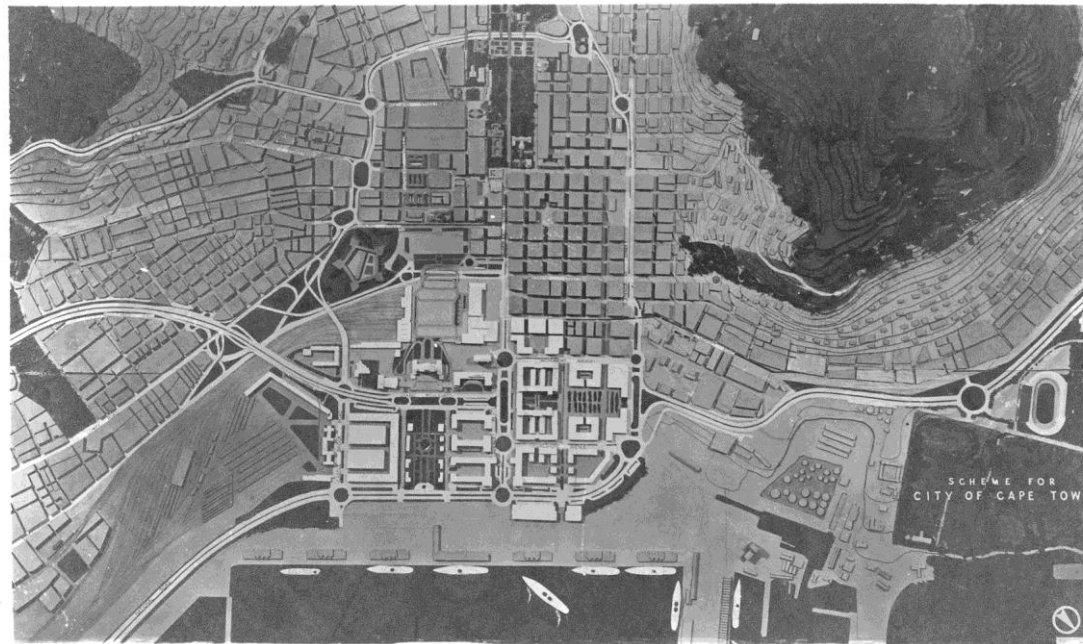
Morris’ first intervention in Cape Town’s layout was published in the form of the *Cape Town - The Metropolis of Tomorrow* (MoT) report of 1951. The title echoed the optimistic futurism of earlier grand visions such as Ebenezer Howard’s *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902), Hugh Ferriss’ *Metropolis of Tomorrow* (1929), and Le Corbusier’s *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (English translation of 1929, from the French *Urbanisme* 1925). The MoT report was the first major modification to the 1947 Plan, which was the established template for the city. The chief concerns of the MoT was a new road network system for the city, and a new site for the Cape Town Civic Centre.

The continued increase in traffic post-war and the increasing congestion that it brought, convinced Morris that a new modern solution, as applied in Britain and America, would be necessary. The concept of a Ring Road Scheme<sup>187</sup> was held to allow traffic to circumvent the congested CBD using a fast-flowing freeway. While incoming and outgoing traffic from the CBD would be along radial highways, the Ring Road would essentially encircle and frame the important spatial qualities of a CBD. Parking would be located on the edges of the Ring Road, so that pedestrians would be free to conduct business and shopping in a supposedly more welcoming environment. The discourse of congestion and blockage through the metaphor of the CBD as the heart of the city, and the roads as vital arteries was prevalent in Morris’ argument (as it had been in earlier debates around town planning and roads in South Africa, which in turn reflected international discourses). He held that congested roads would stifle commerce and drive business and shoppers out of the city, ultimately resulting in its downfall. Congestion led to frayed tempers, pollution and inefficiency, all undesirable qualities<sup>188</sup>. The only solution therefore was to put in place a system that could carry vehicles quickly and effectively to their destination, and allow them to park in a similar manner.

---

<sup>187</sup> As seen in the schemes for Nairobi and Plymouth.

<sup>188</sup> Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 34, 37



MODEL BY  
TOWN PLANNING BRANCH  
MARCH 1951

CITY OF CAPE TOWN  
DEVELOPMENT PLAN—CENTRAL CITY AREA  
SCALE MODEL OF SCHEME

S.S. MORRIS B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., A.M.E.P.J., M.I.Men.E.  
CITY ENGINEER.

Figure 50 – The modifications to the 1947 Plan are seen in the new curving lines of Boulevard East and West. The new Ring Road clearly frames the city, while the area around the Castle is still an imagined park space. At the far right is the oval shape of the proposed stadium, a component of the proposed sports complex on the Greenpoint Common. This was sited here as a suitable terminal feature for Boulevard West. (MoT 1951)

The MoT Ring Road Scheme would utilise the historic boundary road of the Buitengracht on the west, the new Table Bay Boulevard on the North, Castle Bridge Road on the East, and a new network of roads to the South. The southern arm would employ a link from Castle Bridge Road to Roeland Street, and then (controversially) continue through the Company Gardens (see Figure 52) with a link to Buitencingel and finally Buitengracht<sup>189</sup>. From Castle Bridge Road to Roeland Street the scheme would cut through District Six, a solution that would not involve great expenditure (due to low property values) and would supposedly result in urban regeneration (a much sought after scheme in an area seen as a slum by the middle and upper classes of Cape Town). Morris did not shy away from admitting that the scheme would involve major ‘surgery’ by cutting through built-up areas of the city, but justified it as the only internationally accepted method of providing a solution to Cape Town’s

<sup>189</sup> Morris claimed that: “The new vistas and the additional interest created by the difference of level, as well as the movement of traffic below the level of the gardens, will all help to enliven the scene, adding a touch of activity to the peaceful nature of the surroundings. One may well imagine the pleasurable contemplation with which the passer-by through the Avenue will, from the quiet seclusion of his elevation, gaze undisturbedly on the swift-moving traffic below.” (Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 42)

traffic problems<sup>190</sup>, invoking Le Corbusier's call for the "surgical method" in a slum-ridden, congested city (and invoked in the 1938 Town Planning Congress).



Figure 51 – The south arm of the Ring Road, cutting through the Company Gardens under Government Avenue. (MoT 1951)

Boulevard East was another point addressed in MoT, as a crucial arterial link from the suburbs to the city and ultimately the new Ring Road. However, Morris found that the freeway failed on several critical issues - that of cost and incline. On the 1947 Plan, the Boulevard was to join the De Waal-Rhodes Drive link at Groote Schuur Hospital (now known as Hospital Bend) with Hertzog Boulevard,

---

<sup>190</sup> Solomon Morris, *Problems of Progress: The municipal engineer's contribution to the development of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1953), pg. 10



travelling in a near straight line. While this may have looked good on paper to the 1947 planners, it did not take into account the high cost of acquiring properties in the areas it cut through, nor did it take into account the sheer slope of the area. Morris felt it better to re-align the Boulevard to conform to the slope of the Table Mountain valley, making it safer for traffic, and cut through less-dense and less expensive property, thus making a significant reduction in cost - though part of this was a calculation of the cost of rehousing people displaced by the scheme<sup>191</sup>. Boulevard West would also be re-routed to avoid extensive property acquisition and demolition, introducing another curve to the former straight axis that Beaudouin had imagined<sup>192</sup> (see Figure 51 & 53).

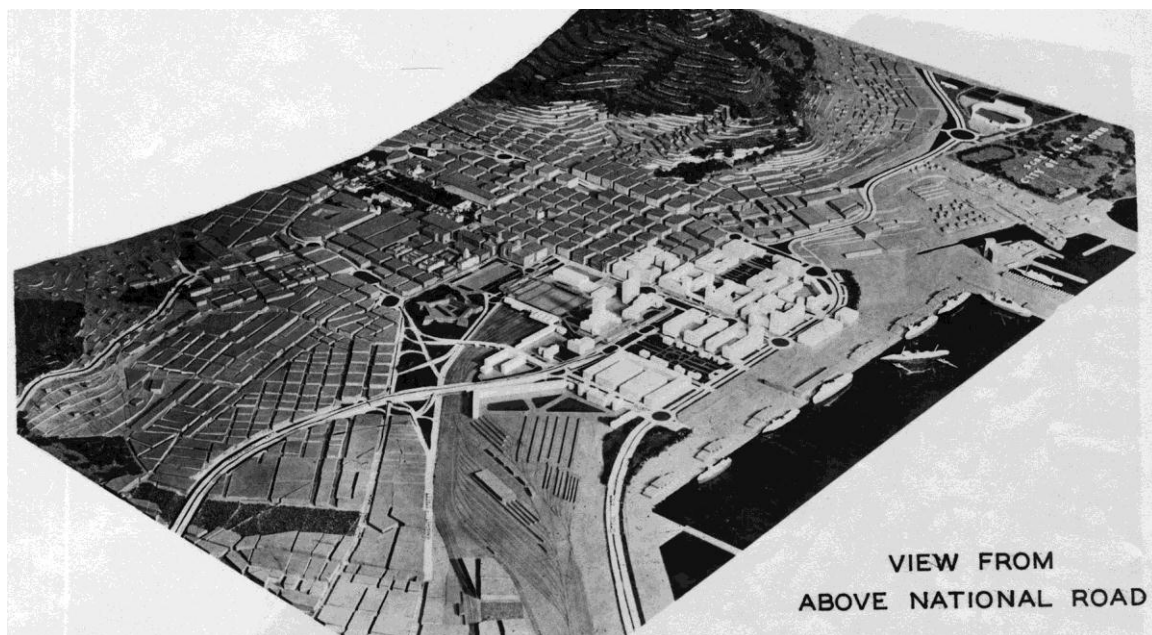


Figure 52 – The new model constructed by the City Engineer's Department that more accurately reflected the contours of the landscape – emphasising Morris' point about appropriate gradients for roads. (MoT 1951)

A criticism of this approach is that planners see poor and working class areas as ideal for interventions, since a cost-benefit analysis will always justify affecting people who already are to a degree powerless (certainly in terms of Cape Town's election rules, which held for a long time that only those who owned property of a certain value were entitled to participate in ward elections). Poor areas have often been pathologised as slums, a designation that not only undermines the dignity of those living in such areas, but also makes them liable to interventions (such as removals) all in the name of 'slum-clearing' and 'urban renewal'<sup>193</sup>. Boulevard East was the subject of greatest

<sup>191</sup> Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 23, 26-33

<sup>192</sup> Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 23-24

<sup>193</sup> See Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester, 1993)

criticism from Barnett and Pinnock - the property acquisitions and clearing of houses certainly foreshadowed the brutal evictions and demolitions that would later happen in District Six.

The matter of the Civic Centre would also relate to issues of cost and location - both chief concerns of a civil engineer. The 1947 Plan looked to replace the existing City Hall with a Modernist ensemble that could accommodate the rapidly growing staff of the Council. Morris quickly dismissed this site as a suitable location, citing the cost of demolition and property acquisition. The logic behind the City Hall site as a suitable terminating point for the Monumental Approach, and 'Gateway to South Africa' concept, was also found lacking, since it was impractical to regrade the level of the Grand Parade, and the Station Deck would block from view the first five stories<sup>194</sup>. It was far more practical, he argued, to locate it on the Foreshore (see Figure 54). The land would be cheaper, no expense in demolishing existing property would be incurred, it would help to meld the old city with the new by creating a site of importance in the new city, and it would be an effective terminal feature of the Monumental Approach, clearly visible and able to lend a sense of 'civic pride':

A civic centre is not merely a building, it constitutes in fact the focus of the city's communal, cultural, legislative and official activities - activities all closely linked with the lives of its citizens. It is essential, therefore, that the Civic Centre should be established in such a setting that it will not only function efficiently in all its multifarious activities, but that it will also stand forth as a visible symbol of the city's civic and communal aspirations.<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>194</sup> Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 8-11

<sup>195</sup> Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of Tomorrow"*, pg. 23 pg. 8



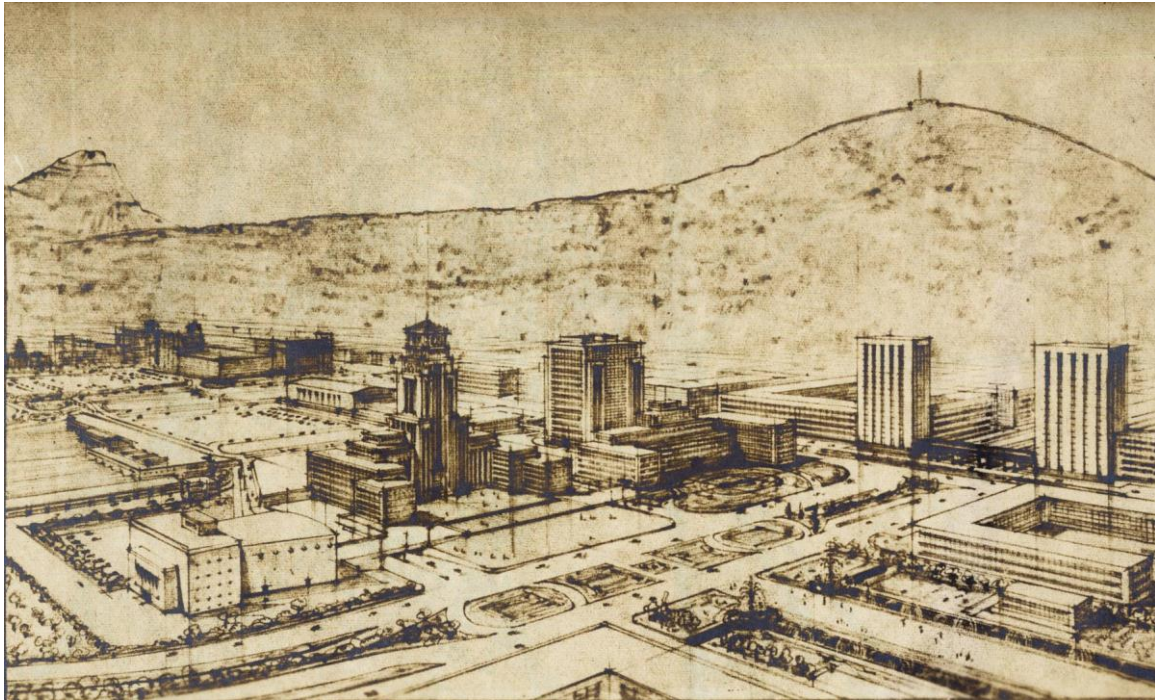


Figure 53 – The formal Monumental Approach Gardens with water features, leading up to the central tower of the Civic Centre complex. To the left of the Civic Centre is a proposed Opera House , while to the right is the proposed Riebeeck Hotel (both were from the 1947 Plan). The new shopping district, Adderley Place, is framed by two uniform towers that dominate the terminal of Hertzog Boulevard and the Heerengracht. A civic plaza in front of the Civic Centre is more in keeping with the Beaudouin’s 1940 proposal. The form of the Civic Centre is more a feature of Art Deco style architecture, rather than the Modernist wedges and towers that would emerge on the Foreshore. (MoT 1951)

The MoT report was formally adopted by Council that year, though it would take time to receive full approval from all the various authorities with claim to land on the Foreshore - SAR&H, the Cape Provincial Administration and the Cape Town Foreshore Board. These competing interests would lead to continuing conflict around land use for the next twenty years.

### The Foreshore Board

Development on the Foreshore was delayed until the Cape Town Foreshore Act was passed by Parliament in 1950. The Act set out the joint authority of the land on the Foreshore, establishing the Cape Town Foreshore Board which was empowered with the authority to establish rules and regulations of development, and to sell land and see that the terms of the 1947 Plan were implemented. The Foreshore Board was thus conceived of as a power-sharing compromise between the City Council and central government, ultimately out of negotiations that began in the early 1930s over the fate of the Foreshore. Given that the land had been reclaimed under the SAR&H, The Act

granted 2 members to the City Council, while 3 were to be appointed by the Governor-General<sup>196</sup>. Effectively controlled by the central government, and reporting directly to Parliament, the Foreshore Board would come to represent the growing influence of the South Africa's changing political landscape.

As Barrow notes, land cannot acquire value unless it has been incorporated into a capitalist system through legalising systems of ownership - derived through surveying and mapping<sup>197</sup>. Land sales could not happen until the land was properly surveyed, and this registered with the Surveyor General's Office and Deeds Office<sup>198</sup>. The Foreshore Board took the early decision that the initial outlay of services needed on the Foreshore were best left to Council to install, and a cost-sharing agreement was entered into, and a subsequent schedule of works drawn up. Roads, sewers, water mains, storm-water drains, electric lines, telephone lines and others services would have to be laid down before buildings could go up.

### The Van Riebeeck Festival

1952 was a year of great political significance - the tercentenary of the establishment of the VOC station at the Cape under the command of Jan van Riebeeck<sup>199</sup>. The spectacle of this event signified the central importance of the figure of van Riebeeck as a symbol of white settlement and pioneer spirit that brought 'civilisation' to the 'dark' continent of Africa. Employing an Enlightenment teleological framing of history, this establishment 'created' the 'nation' of South Africa, lending legitimacy to the claim of white political supremacy that was so central a feature of early twentieth century nationalism. It was of particular importance to the Nationalist Party who had assumed power in 1948, and who centred their political discourse and claims to legitimacy on that of European settlement and progress<sup>200</sup>. Cape Town had been constructed as the 'Mother City' of the

---

<sup>196</sup> The first appointments to the Foreshore Board by the Governor-General were Johannes Coenraad van Wyk Steytler as Chairman (formerly of the Agricultural Board), Walter Heinrich Andrag, and Johannes du Plessis Oosthuizen. The City Council appointed Louis Gradner and Martin Hammerschlag. CTFB-AR 1950, pg. 1. The first South African-born Governor-General of the Union was Gideon Brand van Zyl, who retired in 1951. Thereafter the position was held by retired National Party ministers - Ernest George Jansen, a staunch republican, replaced van Zyl in 1951.

<sup>197</sup> Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory*, pg. 13-14

<sup>198</sup> CTFB-AR 1953, pg. 1

<sup>199</sup> The centrality of the event and its contested nature is discussed in Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's national pasts* (Cape Town, 2003)

<sup>200</sup> Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, pg.15-16

South African nation, with van Riebeeck as the ‘founding father’. Given the political symbolism of the Cape Town Foreshore, it was exceptionally convenient to have open land on which to hold the Van Riebeeck Festival. Morris promoted the idea of the Foreshore as a suitable site, and the Foreshore Board was urged to have all services ready in time for the festival (the outlay of which was outsourced to the City Engineer’s Department)<sup>201</sup>.

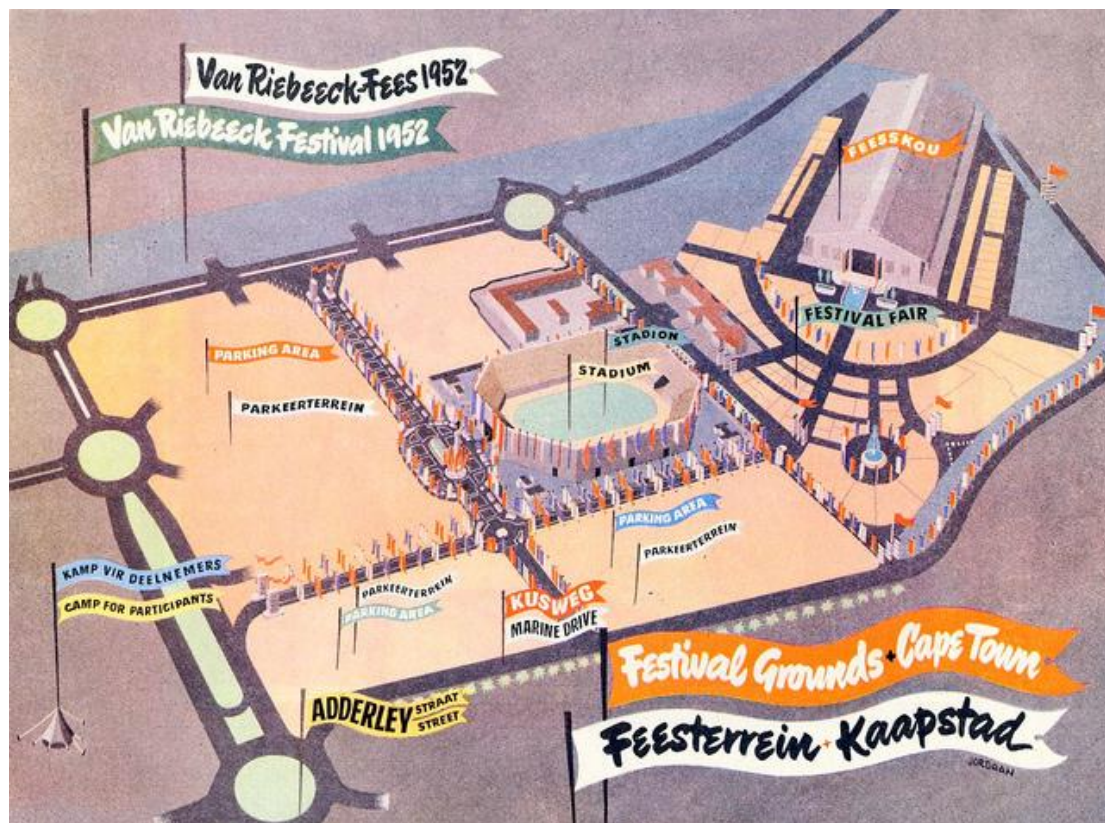


Figure 54 – A 100,000 seater stadium that was constructed on the Monumental Approach Gardens site, while the newly completed Goods Yard sheds housed the festival exhibits. (From a scan of the Official Festival Programme, 1952, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/4530180973/>, accessed 10-01-2013)

<sup>201</sup> MM 1951, pg. 23; ARCE 1951, pg. 33





Figure 55 – The statue of Van Riebeeck evocatively framed by a towering clutch of skyscrapers, with the words ‘300 years of progress’ and ‘we build a nation’ clear references to a modern nationalist framing of history. (Scan of ‘Official Commemorative Envelope’ from the Van Riebeeck Festival, accessed from bidorbuy.co.za, 10-01-2013)



Figure 56 – Formal processions in the stadium of the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952, with Devil's Peak as a backdrop. (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2201902214/>, accessed 10-01-2013)

The Foreshore was thus layered with the political constructions of its past and present. The act of claiming landscape through naming was distinctive of the political shift in South Africa politics, and reflected a steady 'Afrikanisation' of the Foreshore. The Monumental Approach Gardens saw a dedication plaque to commemorate van Riebeeck laid by prominent political figures, while statues of van Riebeeck and his wife, Maria del la Quellerie were erected as flanking figures of the Gateway. The Foreshore Board had been approached by the Van Riebeeck Festival Committee to erect a monument - the site of the Monumental Approach has been agreed on and a brief submitted to a panel of architects<sup>202</sup>. These statues were later placed at the city-end of the Heerengracht, fronting onto the new fountain.

The nearby Goods Yard, where the Festival exhibition stands were located, was named Culemborg, after van Riebeeck's hometown in the Netherlands. The road network on the Foreshore would also reflect the current political order - the main Boulevard was named after the former Prime Minister, JBM Hertzog, and the streets flanking the Monumental Approach Gardens were named Jan Smuts and DF Malan respectively (former and current Prime Ministers respectively). The former Dutch name for Adderley Street – Heerengracht – would be reclaimed in the new extension of Adderley onto the Foreshore, a reclamation of the VOC past. The other major axis crossing leading onto the Foreshore, Castle Bridge Road, was renamed after the former Minister of Transport, Oswald Pirow, while the main avenues that intersected the Heerengracht at the chief traffic circles were named for Hans Strijdom (who opened the new Heerengracht in 1952 as Minister of Lands, but was elevated to Prime Minister from 1954-8) and Coen Steytler (first Chairman of the Foreshore Board). Intersecting Oswald Pirow in the warehouse district were roads named for Martin Hammerschlag (former City Councillor and member of the Foreshore Board), Louis Gradner (Councillor, Mayor and member of the Foreshore Board) and Jack Craig, the Table Bay Harbour Engineer who promulgated the first Foreshore reclamation and development scheme. Between Jan Smuts and the Heerengracht were nods to the other Europeans of significance who exemplified the spirit of European exploration and 'discovery' at the Cape - Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama<sup>203</sup>. The area of the Foreshore was also officially given a name associated with the shoreline during the VOC period - Roggebaai.

---

<sup>202</sup> CTFB-AR 1951, pg.18

<sup>203</sup> Connecting these is Salazar Plain, possibly named after Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal - highlighting the Portuguese connection, and the nod towards Salazar's republican aspirations, which echoed those of the National Party elite.



## Post-war utopias and publicising visions

The aesthetic called for by Modernist architects was clearly articulated in an exhibition held by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects in 1956, entitled “Cape Town - Your City”<sup>204</sup>. The tone of the accompanying articles embodied the positivism of the Modernist ideals, with architects perfectly poised to solve the ills of the city. Nineteenth century development was typically held as the origin of disruptive and uncontrolled development, and the urban forms emerging from this state were constantly pathologised. Uncontrolled development had resulted in overcrowded buildings, slums, overhead spiderwebs of tram and electricity lines, advertising billboards everywhere, unsightly architectural styles that didn’t harmonise with each other, no respect for cultural heritage (particularly in the case of the Landbou Building intruding on the tower of the Groote Kerk on Adderley), pedestrians competing for space with vehicles, the loss of public space to cars and buildings, and a lack of green areas to create sites of leisure and clean air (green belts and parks were often framed as the ‘lungs’ of the city)<sup>205</sup>. The prognosis of these ills was a city strangled by its own development, where commerce would be stifled, no sense of civic pride could emerge, and the city would ultimately continue to decay.

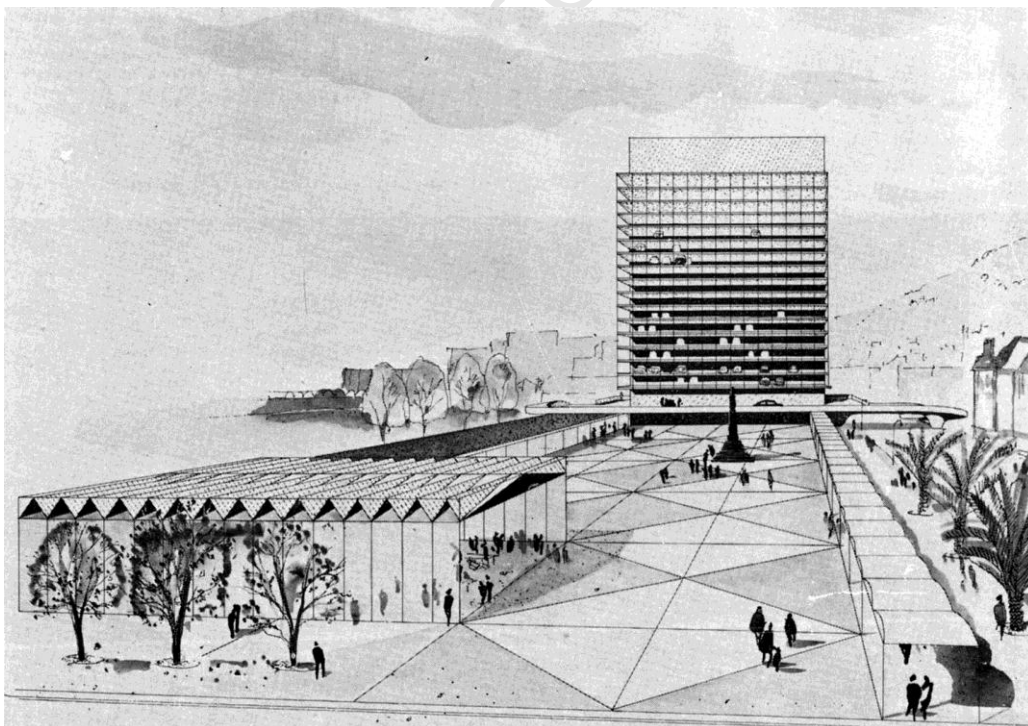


Figure 57 – Idealised landscapes, with separate plaza spaces for people. Neat, geometric lines embodying a Modernist preference for clean, uncluttered forms. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956)

<sup>204</sup> “Cape Town - Your City”: An exhibition, presented by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1956 (Reprinted from *Architect and Builder*, August 1956)

<sup>205</sup> “Cape Town - Your City”, pg.38-47

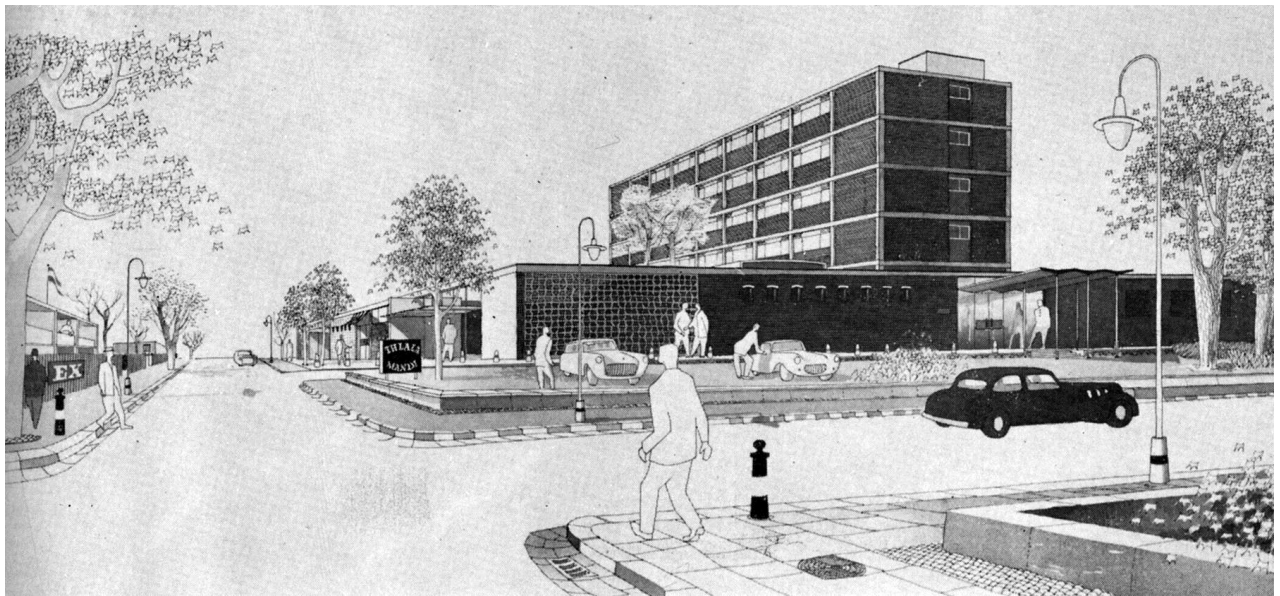


Figure 58 – A universal landscape, nothing about it signifying a unique context. Pavements are wide, overhead wires are gone, and density is low. (Anonymous, "Cape Town - Your City" 1956)

The solution to these problems were new, Modernist, rational cityscapes. Prospective sketches showed orthogonal, clean-lined buildings with great expanses of glass. Wide pavements allowed for free flowing of pedestrians, moving beneath the shelter of trees and a sky free of wires, through urban parks and to new gleaming shopping centres. The Maritime Terminal at the start of the Monumental Approach was a glass and steel box, affording dramatic sweeping views of the harbour, while the Civic Centre was a tall blade of concrete and glass, nestled in a park with a water canal, and affording a full view from the Terminal of Table Mountain and City Hall. The designs are instantly recognisable for their adherence to the principles of masters of the Modernist canon, such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier. The exhibition was opened by the famous British (though South African born) town planner, William Holford, who had been knighted for his work in replanning post-war London. He cited the "the twin-headed dragons of modern city development - floor space and traffic" as removing available space for people in the city, and emphasised the view that congestion led to the 'disease' of a city, whereby 'surgery' - proper planning - was the only solution<sup>206</sup>. He echoed the sentiments of Morris, by applying the continuous metaphor of the emerging concept of congested CBDs, as "a form of thrombosis, sometimes a hardening of the arteries, sometimes apoplexy"<sup>207</sup>. Space was a right held by citizens, and it was up to architects and planners to restore it.

<sup>206</sup> "Cape Town - Your City", pg. 62

<sup>207</sup> "Cape Town - Your City", pg. 64



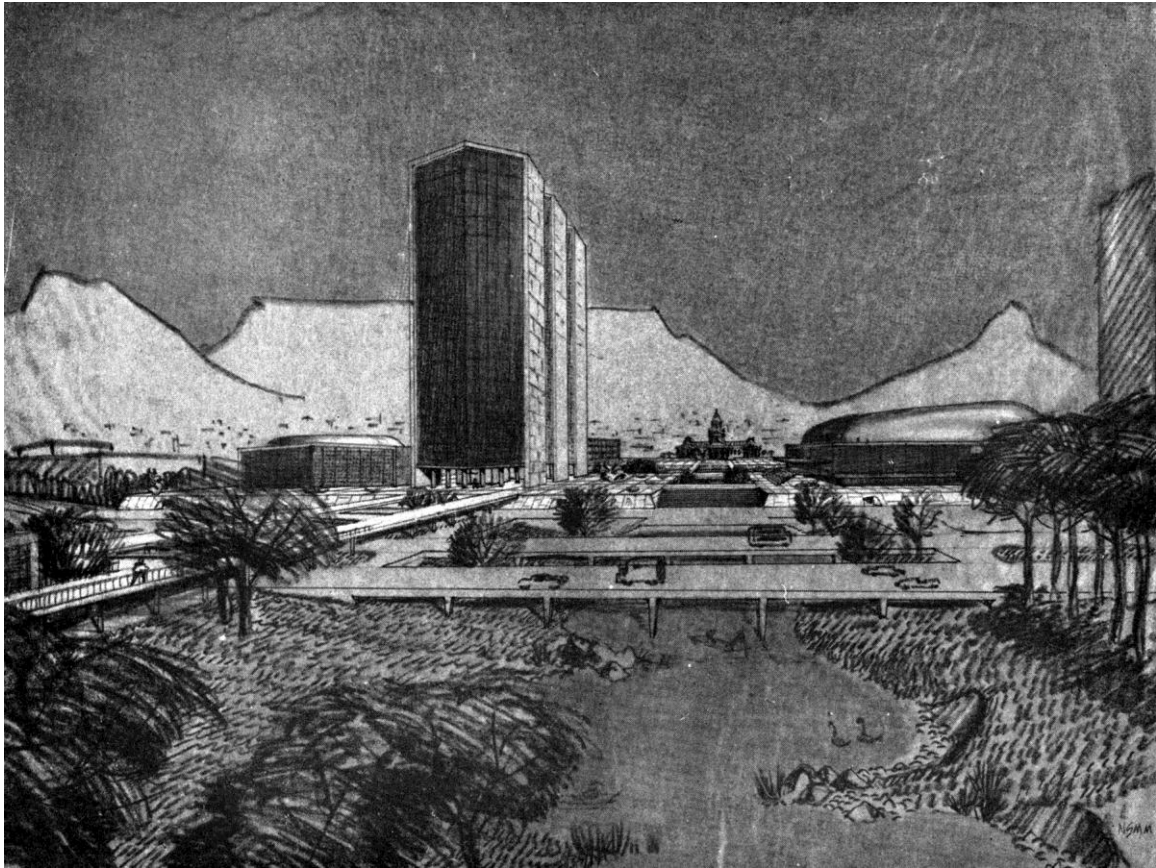


Figure 59 – The first perspective of the Civic Centre tower perpendicular to Hertzog Boulevard, allowing for a monumental approach that is landscaped, and which affords clear views of City Hall and the mountain from the Maritime Terminal. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956)

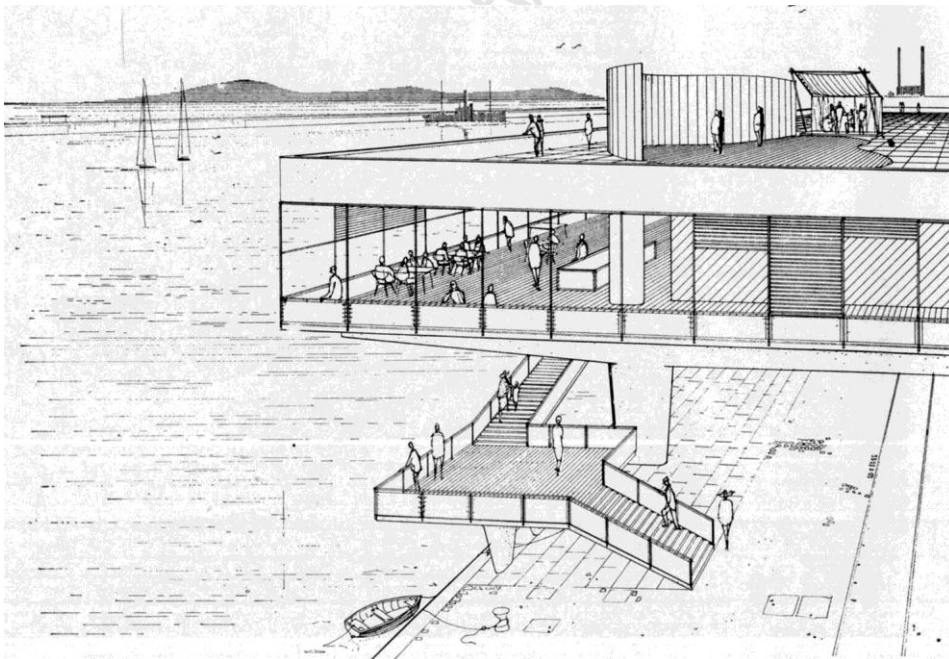


Figure 60 – The Maritime Terminal forming the important connection with the sea and one of the terminal features of the Monumental Approach. The building is a clear nod to Modernist masters such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, with a massive rectangular slab supported on pillars and glass curtain walls. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956)

The exhibition was significant as a form of promoting public awareness by advocates of Modernist town planning and architecture. Hollow has identified the prominence given in Britain to the public exhibition, identified by proponents as a chief means of educating the public, alongside public talks, and published articles<sup>208</sup>. One of the most prominent examples in Britain was the Festival of Britain in 1951, an effort by the British Labour Party to inject a sense of optimism into post-war British society, and give a sense of what the future held with new technologies<sup>209</sup>. This optimistic futurism combined existing elements of earlier festivals, such as the 1939 World Fair in New York that brought together a wealth of futuristic representations of modern societies, and the increasing role of technology in everyday life. South Africa had only seen such public exhibitions as the 1934 Rand Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition, and the 1936 Empire Exhibition (which Robinson notes provided a public spectacle of technological triumphalism, and notably, racial mixing, if of a limited kind<sup>210</sup>). The debate over the Foreshore had certainly spilled over from the professional journals into public papers, and both the 1947 Plan and the MoT were in the form of beautifully published reports, intended for public distribution and exhibited through large-scale models<sup>211</sup>. These no doubt mirrored the reports for cities such as London and Plymouth, which were published and sold to the public to increase their popular appeal and public support<sup>212</sup>.

---

<sup>208</sup> Hollow, 'Utopian urges', pg. 574

<sup>209</sup> Hollow, 'Utopian urges', pg. 576

<sup>210</sup> Jennifer Robinson, 'Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 3 (2003)

<sup>211</sup> Apparently the model from the 1947 Plan is the only one remaining, held in the Cape Town Civic Centre.

<sup>212</sup> The example of Plymouth's report is shown in Essex and Brayshay, 'Vision, Vested Interest and Pragmatism'



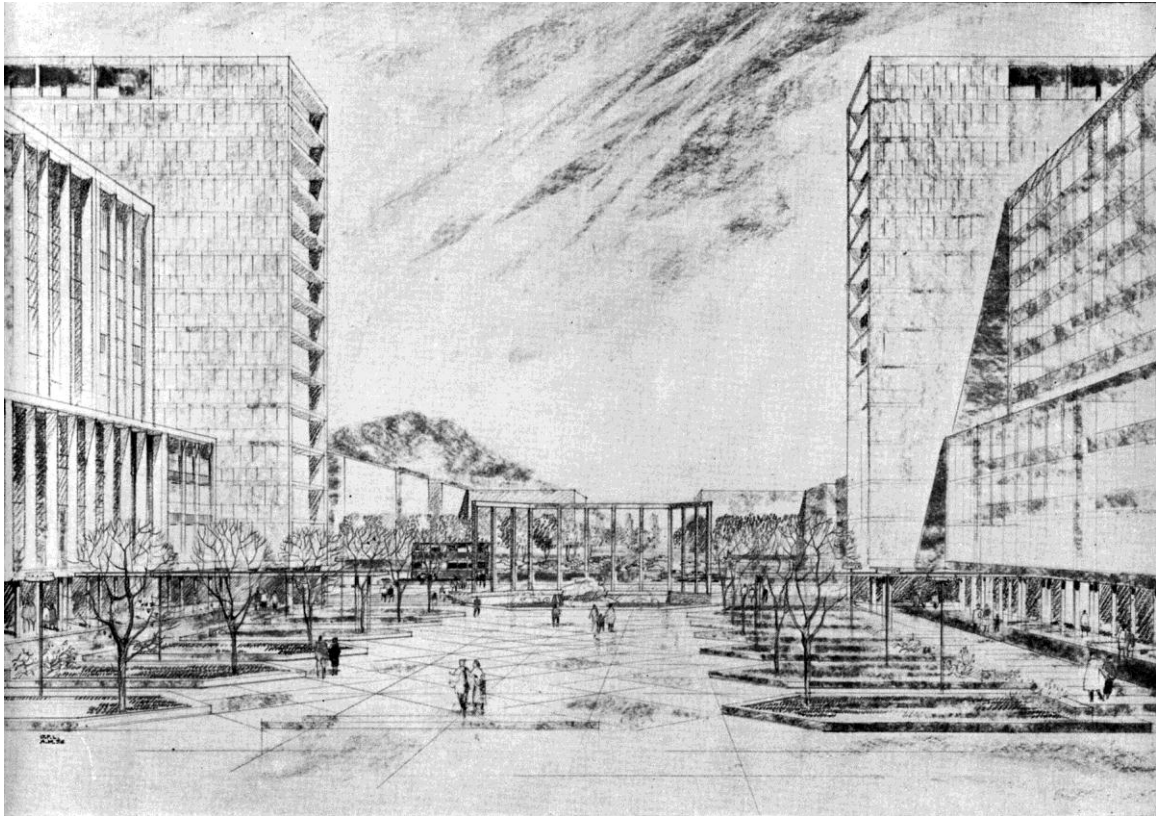


Figure 61 – The neat, orderly city, typical of Modernist visions. Buildings are uniform, producing even backdrops to civic plazas with neat, orderly landscaping. (Anonymous, “Cape Town - Your City” 1956)

The *Metropolis of Tomorrow* report heralded not only a divergence from the 1947 Plan, but also the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. This rise would co-incide neatly with the subsequent Van Riebeeck Festival, leading to a layering of the landscape of the Foreshore with a distinct political ideology. This ‘Afrikanerisation’ of the Foreshore was initiated by the Van Riebeeck Festival, and continued through the commemorative naming of places. This would be continued by the growth of skyscrapers, fountains and monumental civic buildings, mostly controlled by the Foreshore Board, which itself was dominated by the influence of the central government. The built form that subsequently arose was thus a continuation of these earlier events; a continuation of the ‘Afrikanerisation’ of the Foreshore.

## CHAPTER 4 : Follies on the Foreshore

The built form of the Foreshore emerges in a post-war economic boom, as the 1950s and 60s were seen as the pinnacle of the economic strength of the apartheid government. However, it would be the result of further negotiations and compromises between the City Council (local), Provincial Administration (provincial), and SAR&H (national). It was the continuing compromises and departures from the 1947 Plan that led to its current perception as a 'failed utopian scheme'. The cityscape that was created reflected the 'banal urban modernism' which Gunn identifies as being concerned with "office blocks, urban motorways and car parks"<sup>213</sup>. The buildings that arose symbolised the economic strength of the South Africa state, and thus of Afrikaner capital and the 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore. The urban motorways that emerged were heralded as the best examples of contemporary engineering, yet the final result was the "unhappy compromise" that sealed the image of planning on the Foreshore as a failure.

### 'Egg-boxes' and skyscrapers in Cape Town

By 1953, with most services completed and with the final surveys completed and registered with the Deeds Office, sales could begin<sup>214</sup>. To ensure the degree of architectural control envisaged by the 1947 Plan, the Foreshore Board appointed the Roggebaai Technical Advisory Committee (RTAC) to establish regulations for development, and to act as a review panel for all building plans. The Committee was comprised of two nominees from the CPIA, a nominee of the City Council, and the Manager of the Foreshore Board as Chairman<sup>215</sup>. Issues of building height, setbacks, facade control, parapet and canopy lines would all fall within the strict confines of acceptable aesthetic standards. The result of this was a built form on the Foreshore that was exceptionally homogeneous. The Modernist, Functionalist aesthetic emphasised a form that followed the function of the building, and made use of materials that were emblematic of the industrial age - steel, glass and concrete. These materials would be prominently displayed, windows would be placed flush with the exterior wall,

---

<sup>213</sup> Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism', pg. 851

<sup>214</sup> notwithstanding a Temporary Road Vehicle Depot that SAR&H had erected on site B by the Monumental Approach, and which took another 6 years to remove. CTFB-AR 1954, pg. 3

<sup>215</sup> CTFB-AR 1956, pg. 7-8. The CPIA had long called for the establishment of a City Fine Arts Committee (as in that of New York), to develop controls for buildings, and thus ensuring a neat, orderly city.

while vertical fins that provided structural support would also lend a degree of shade. The external appearance would avoid the plaster and stone embellishments of the Classical or Art Deco styles. The Modernism of the industrial age called for clean, pure lines that symbolised design and space free of physical and mental clutter. As a symbol of a progressive nation, Silverman has noted how this form of architecture was quickly embraced by Afrikaner capital for public buildings<sup>216</sup>. Space certainly marked the new city from the old - the Heerengracht provided a vast open space between buildings. The RTAC would come to be dominated by Professor Pryce Lewis, a staunch advocate of Modernist architecture, whose efforts led to the strict building regulations of the CTFB. The built form of the buildings flanking the Heerengracht can largely be attributed to his efforts (see Figure 63).



Figure 62 - The new buildings along the Heerengracht, uniform in height and facade (Mayor's Minutes 1959)

The vision of the 1947 Plan had been for a cityscape of geometrically neat, orderly buildings, with uniform facades and even heights, spaced out and consciously avoiding the densely-packed skyscraper skyline of cities like New York. Perhaps this was due to the dominance of British notions of town planning, which did not have the experience of, nor the desire for incredibly dense city

<sup>216</sup> Silverman, "Ons bou vir die Bank"

centres such as New York. The dystopian view of the nineteenth and early twentieth century industrialised city with buildings tightly packed together, with no regard for proper ventilation, light or surrounding green space, was to be countered by a utopian vision that; set strict regulations for buildings in terms of air and light, kept streets wide, setback buildings so as to allow space for pedestrians and light to penetrate the street, ample space for traffic flow, and leisure space in the form of parks and plazas.

The only provision for tall buildings<sup>217</sup> were those located on two major features of the Foreshore - the traffic circles. Set equidistant from each other, they would provide monumental flanking 'columns' for the entry to the city via Hertzog Boulevard. SAR&H had been given the site in front of the first traffic circle - intended for their new administration block (which hardly took advantage of the maximum height allowance of 300 feet (92 metres). The other site closest to the harbour was quickly snapped up by the local insurance giant, Sanlam, which proceeded to build to the maximum of the height allowance. Opening in 1962, the Sanlam Building was the tallest in Africa, and employed some of the most innovative building technologies of its day (especially to withstand the Cape winds)<sup>218</sup>. It was a significant statement of the triumphalism of Afrikaner capital<sup>219</sup> (though Sanlam's head office would remain in Bellville).

---

<sup>217</sup> The established maximum height for all buildings was 120 feet (36.5 metres).

<sup>218</sup> A&B June 1962, pg. 2

<sup>219</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith et al echoed this in "The stark lines of the Sanlam building in Wale Street expressed the modern forces of Afrikaner Nationalism", in *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, pg. 78





Figure 63 – The towering Sanlam building (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/5992960097/>, accessed 10-01-2013)

To add a further symbolic feature to the Foreshore, a great fountain was commissioned by the Foreshore Board for the traffic circle in front of the SAR&H Administration building - named for the Nationalist Minister of Transport, Paul Sauer (and anticipated to be ready in time for the Union Jubilee Festivities in May 1960)<sup>220</sup>. This was won by the noted architect Jack Barnett. However, his design was modified, a matter for which he went to court, but he lost the case and the fountain was completed later that year<sup>221</sup>. His reputation as a Communist sympathiser was clearly an embarrassment to the local administration. The fountain would be another symbol of the Foreshore's failure - its jets were not suited to the Cape wind, and frequently clogged, resulting in the non-functional fountain for most of the time. Indeed, Barnett had designed it as a water feature and not a fountain, citing the inappropriateness of the weather<sup>222</sup>. It was the modifications of the surrounding landscaping and addition of the fountain jets that resulted in the court challenge.

<sup>220</sup> CTFB-AR 1959, pg. 6

<sup>221</sup> A&B September 1960, pg. 35

<sup>222</sup> *Cape Times*, 31-8-1961

When sales on the Foreshore began in 1953, there was a clear desire for new land in a prestigious location on the part of developers - indicated by sales of £357,400 by the end of the year<sup>223</sup>. By the end of 1954, 14 lots on the Foreshore had been sold<sup>224</sup>. According to the Annual Report of the Foreshore Board<sup>225</sup>, the majority of land sales occurred during the mid-1950s, with a slump in the late-1950s, especially the mid-1960s, though with a significant recovery in the late-1960s (see Figure 66 & 67). With the spike in initial land sales during the mid-1950s, coupled with the Board requirement to begin construction within two years, most buildings (22) were completed by 1960, while the slump in the early 1960s meant that only a further 12 were completed by 1969 (see Figure 65).

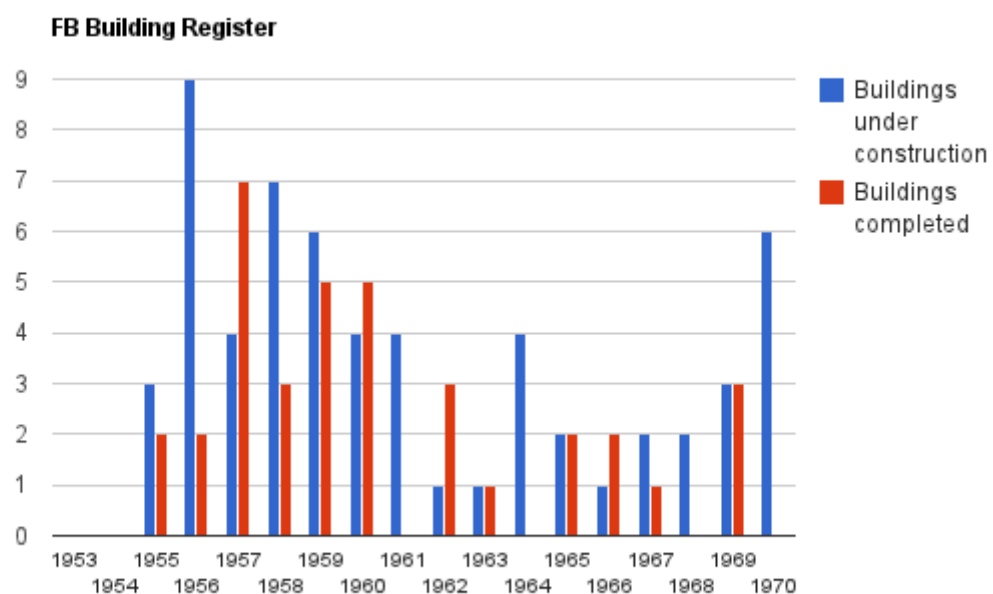


Figure 64 – There is a clear initial enthusiasm in building operations in the 1950s, which slumps in the early 1960s, and only just recovers at the end of the decade. (CTFB-AR 1951-1970)

<sup>223</sup> CTFB-AR 1953, pg. 8

<sup>224</sup> CTFB-AR 1954, pg. 6

<sup>225</sup> Which was a brief summary of the Foreshore Board's activities and expenditure, lacking in detail of buyers, decisions and debates.

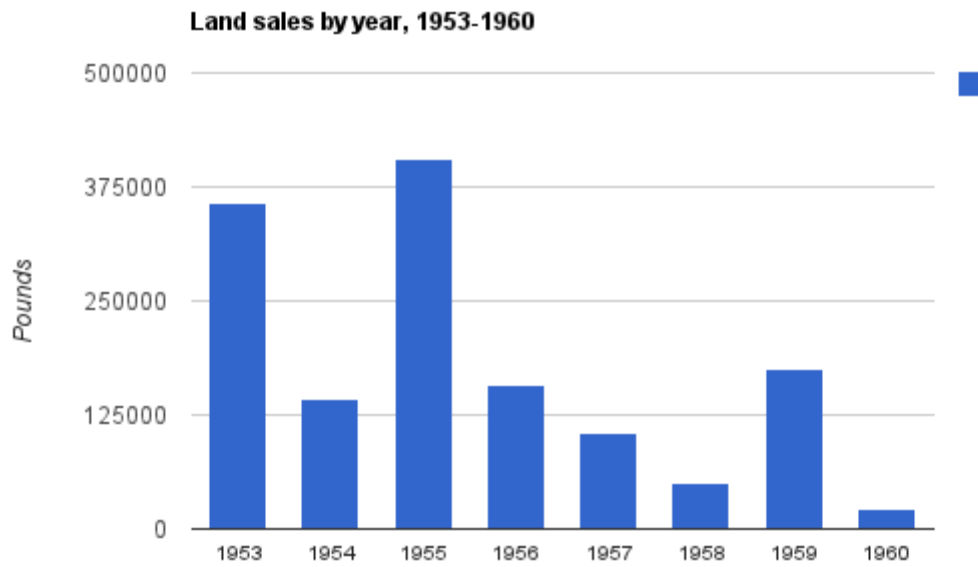


Figure 65 – Sales of land decrease noticeably by the end of the 1950s (CTFB-AR 1951-1960)

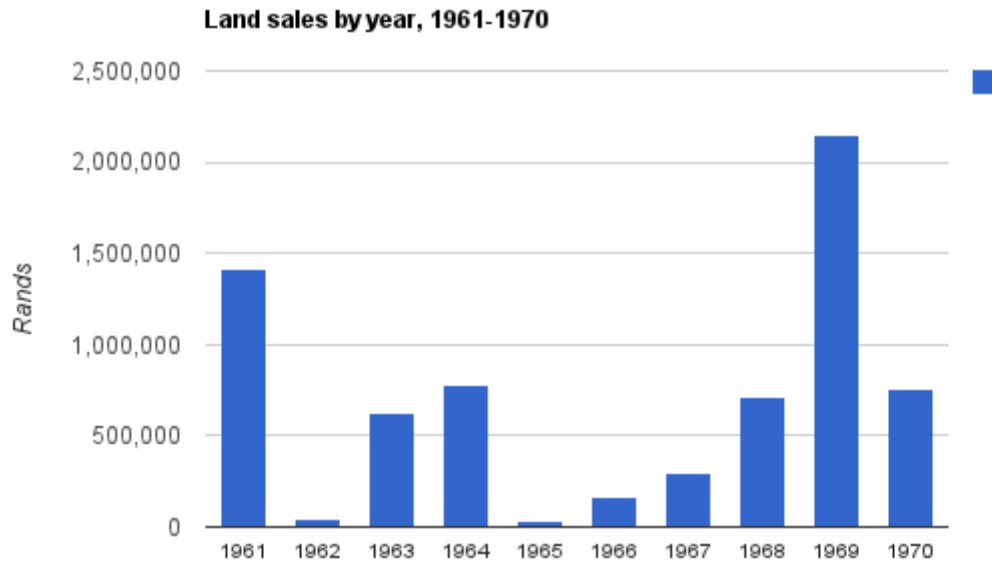


Figure 66 – 1962 and 1965 were particularly dire years for sales, though the end of the decade sales have picked up – reflecting the enthusiasm felt through the relaxing of height restrictions. This chart was separate to reflect the change of currency in 1961. (CTFB-AR 1961-1970)

The slump in building construction on the Foreshore during the early to mid-1960s (see Figures 65, 66 & 67), which was partially attributed to a general slump in the construction industry (despite greater construction in Cape Town than in Johannesburg), and seen in light of the 1960 Sharpeville Riots, could also be seen as a reluctance by investors to build under such restricted conditions. The height restriction was a particular grievance - it was far more profitable to build higher and thus maximise rentable floor space. The pressure on the City Council to relax review building heights in the old city met with far greater success, and an amendment to the Town Planning Ordinance granting increased height allowances was granted by the Administrator in 1964<sup>226</sup>. This was motivated largely by the City Council's desire to profit from land sales and development, which were denied to them under the power-sharing agreement of the 1950 Act (though international examples of skyscrapers in so-called 'world-class cities' no doubt gave further grounds). Lobbying for changes in height allowances, and a relaxation of the strict guidelines of the Town Planning Schemes for Cape Town, were given a significant boost in the findings of the Diemont Commission of Inquiry (see Appendix B).

Investment appeared to flow back into the old city of Cape Town, resulting in several new high-rise buildings. Occupying a significant space opposite the new passenger station (and after an elaborate exchange and merger of sites between the City Council and Foreshore Board), the Trust Bank building (completed 1967) was a testament to the technological innovations of modern building methods (steel frame with non-structural glass walls) and Modernist design (see Figure 68). It closely mirrored the famous Seagram Building in New York, designed by the noted Modernist master, Mies van der Rohe, in collaboration with Philip Johnson, and completed in 1958 (see Figure 69). It too was a grand statement of the triumphalism of Afrikaner capital (and the preference for American architecture that marked a departure from British allegiances). This was to be followed by the Southern Life Centre and BP Building on the same block. All employed another Modernist innovation to compensate for the density of the tower - a podium block that could provide a pedestrian shopping space (or parking garages as was more the case in Cape Town). All were grand statements of the economic strength and political legitimacy of the apartheid state, in the face of increasing international isolation.

---

<sup>226</sup> ARCE 1964, pg. 33





Figure 67 – (left) The proposed Trust Bank Building, as it was eventually built (Mayor's Minutes 1967)



Figure 68 – (right) The Seagram Building by Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson, 1958 (peter.bourgon.org, accessed 10-01-2013)

This preference for an integrated podium and tower block was again put forward in the 1964 report by Julian Beinart and Edward Mallows<sup>227</sup>. Concerned at the slump in land sales on the Foreshore, the Foreshore Board commissioned the noted architectural professors<sup>228</sup> to produce a report on proposed development on the site bordered by Hertzog Boulevard and the Heerengracht (the land initially bought by the Council for their proposed administration block, but then returned to the

<sup>227</sup> E.W.N. Mallows and J Beinart, Report on Proposed Development of Lots 144-148 the Foreshore, Cape Town (Cape Town, 1964), pg. 38-9

<sup>228</sup> Mallows had just been appointed the first Professor of Town Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. Beinart was a lecturer in the same School of Architect, having just completed degrees from MIT and Yale in architecture and town planning respectively. Mallows was of the same generation as Thornton White, educated at the Architectural Association in London, which contrasted with the younger Beinart, a product of contemporary American thinking.

Board when their allocated building time expired<sup>229</sup> - see Figure 75). Despite examining the possibility for a shopping mall podium on the site, Beinart and Mallows advised against this on the grounds that the Foreshore did not enjoy a steady flow of pedestrian traffic to justify such a mall, and instead advocated a purely commercial office block<sup>230</sup>. The authors were critical of SAR&H for their effect on the link between the old and new city; “the SAR&H killed the connection at birth by demanding frontage on Adderley Street, and the eventual solution of a partial deck over the station is nothing more than papering over cracks.”<sup>231</sup> Their report again emphasised the hegemonic role of British and North American models of planning and development - they claimed that “conditions in the US more closely approximate those in South Africa”<sup>232</sup>, with large annexures of shopping malls and office block developments in both countries.



Figure 69 – A view of the Grand Parade and completed Cape Town Station, looking over the station deck to the harbour. (Store photos in the UCT Built Environment Library, 1966)

The new Cape Town Passenger Station was only completed by 1969, and reflected the preference of the SAR&H Administration for Modernist architecture. Largely based on a scaled-down design of the

---

<sup>229</sup> Buildings on the Foreshore had to begin construction within two years of plot purchase, otherwise they had to be returned to the Board. This was intended to prevent speculative land purchases, and ensure rapid development on the Foreshore.

<sup>230</sup> Mallows and Beinart, *Report on Proposed Development*, pg. 38-9

<sup>231</sup> Mallows and Beinart, *Report on Proposed Development*, pg. 25

<sup>232</sup> Mallows and Beinart, *Report on Proposed Development*, pg. 31

Johannesburg Station, it reflected the new social order, with a separate entrance for non-whites at the South. The main entrance, with a large empty plaza that faced north onto Adderley, would be the 'respectable' public face of the station for white passengers. The Szlumper Committee compromise of the Station Deck would be nearing completion by 1970 (following a final resolution in 1957 that settled the matter of financing its construction<sup>233</sup>), but without the new Civic Centre, would lack the physical link to the new city. Without the completed ramps and landscaping, and the on-going clearing of the Old Station site, another crucial feature of the 1947 Plan would undermine the realisation of the grand visions for the Foreshore. In 1969 the City released a report on the future of the Old Station site<sup>234</sup>. Originally a landscaped public space (see Figure 71), it would eventually become the Golden Acre<sup>235</sup>, though earlier perspectives showed a complex that was more open and in the International Style (see Figure 72), than the later Brutalist complex that would emerge - another prestige project in the city by Sanlam (see Figure 73).

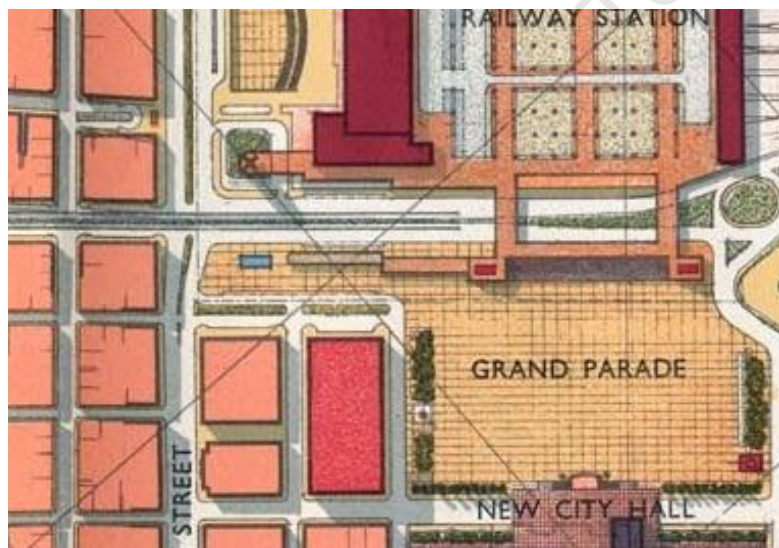


Figure 70 – The 1947 Plan proposal for the Old Station site – an open public plaza linked to the Grand Parade and the Station Deck (1947 Plan)

<sup>233</sup> CTFB AR 1957, pg. 6

<sup>234</sup> Solomon Morris, *The Golden Acre: A plan for the development of the old station site* (Cape Town, 1969)

<sup>235</sup> Due to the high property value and extent of the site.



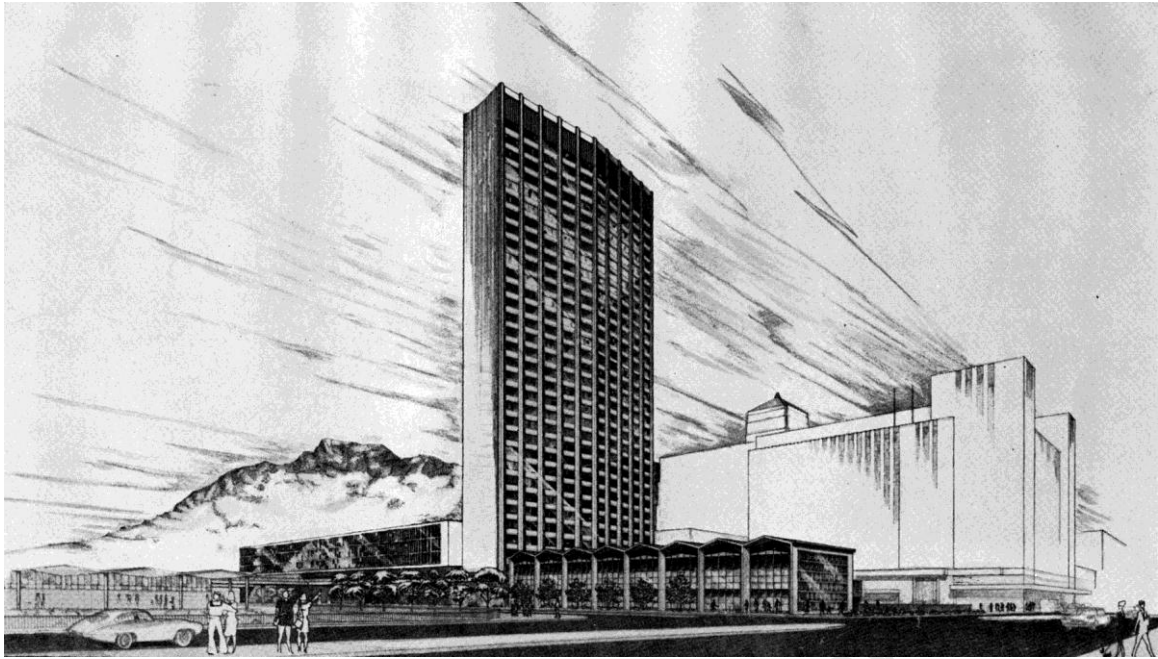


Figure 71 – A low perspective emphasising the powerful figure of the central tower. (Mayor's Minutes, 1969)



Figure 72 – The Golden Acre in its final form. The original perspective of sides open to Stand Street was replaced by blank, featureless walls, while the podium block created an insulated shopping mall that cut off Castle Street. (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2974447910/>, accessed 10-01-2013)



## Boulevard East, the Ring Road, and the Table Bay flyovers

The infamous Table Bay flyovers and their “lost” appendages have been cast in the popular imagination as “Solly’s folly” - reflecting the negative legacy of his attempts to drive through the controversial Western Exit, and the perceived effect of the flyovers on the Foreshore. This popular understanding, however, neglects the complex negotiations between the various authorities and the pressure placed on them by rapidly increasing vehicular traffic. Highways can be both loved and hated, for their ability to convey traffic freely but also to divide spaces. Morris’ role, however, was more of an advocate for the flyovers as one component in a broader road traffic network, while that of the Provincial Administrator, Nico Malan, and Ninham Shand appear forgotten. To portray Morris as road engineer<sup>236</sup> is also to ignore that his training was in civil engineering (in the past known as municipal engineering, and encompassing a broad focus on road, water supplies, sewerage etc), and that his primary speciality was in water engineering - his doctorate was awarded for his thesis and work on the Wemmershoek Dam<sup>237</sup>, a crucial source of water for the city. The massive network of roads in and around Cape Town that also came out of this period are, however, far more visible than the dams.

Concerned with rapid increases in road traffic, and the spiralling costs of massive road works programmes in the late 1950s, the Provincial Administrator appointed two committees – the Boulevard East Technical Committee (BETC) and the Western Exit Technical Committee (WETC), to find appropriate solutions. Dealing with contested land under varying degrees of control by various authorities led to a continuous series of technical committees that would essentially confirm the proposals of the BETC and WETC. The latter was the first to propose the ideal of raised flyovers over Table Bay Boulevard, primarily to deal with the mass of incoming traffic from the N9<sup>238</sup>. Following subsequent reports by Morris, the Provincial Administrator put the matter to further technical committees (most notably the 1963 Shand Committee), but these merely confirmed the earlier findings. With the weight of scientific evidence and best case planning from American contexts established, the Table Bay flyovers became an accepted fact (for a more detailed discussion of these

---

<sup>236</sup> Another popular myth is that his gravestone was embellished with the design of roads

<sup>237</sup> Solomon Morris, *Augmentation of Urban Water Supplies, with Special Reference to the City of Cape Town Wemmershoek Scheme* (DSc thesis, University of Cape Town, 1958). He was also called on to travel to Europe and the United States to investigate the state of nuclear research, and the potential impact of a nuclear strike on Cape Town. His findings and recommendations were published as Solomon Morris, *Thermonuclear Weapons* (Cape Town, 1956)

<sup>238</sup> The incredible growth of Cape Town’s northern suburbs, such as Bellville, contributed to massive traffic loads coming into the city along the N9 (now N1) route.

committees and their various reports, see Appendix C). These decisions culminated in the rapid restructuring of Cape Town's road network, with the Ring Road Complex and Boulevards cutting through, and rapidly transforming parts of the city. This period was also notably for the near absence of grand visions for the Foreshore. The *Cape Town 66 Report*<sup>239</sup> was the one exception, but its reception was remarkably poor, and little reference is ever made of it in the record (see Appendix A for further discussion of this report).



Figure 73 – Boulevard East under construction, cutting through the neighbourhoods of District Six (right) and Woodstock (left). The cleared site in the bottom right is the old Municipal Market. (ARCE 1967)

---

<sup>239</sup> Roelof Uytenbogaardt, *Cape Town Foreshore 66: Planned development for Roggebaai: an examination of the Foreshore and proposals for its effective redevelopment* (Cape Town, March 1966)

## The Civic Centre complex and the loss of the Monumental Approach

The Civic Centre was to be the realisation of the 'Gateway to South Africa' concept, completing the Monumental Approach and bestowing on Cape Town the international respectability of a modern civic-cultural complex (and thus alleviating the pressing shortage of space for the city's administration). To achieve this, the now standard approach to monumental buildings was adopted: the appointment of a team of experts, local and international, who would in turn draw on international best-case examples - often through an international tour (these tended to be restricted to the hegemonic western cultural centres of Europe and North America).

The first obstacle to overcome for the City Council was the acquisition of land. However, an application to the Foreshore Board quickly brought about a dispute over the key compromise of the 1947 Plan - the station deck. This had placed the sole responsibility for costs on the Foreshore Board; a responsibility the Board now felt they were absolved of since the City was deviating from the 1947 Plan. It would take until 1957 before a cost-sharing agreement was reached over the construction of the Station Deck, and a further 10 years before the deck would near completion<sup>240</sup>. Furthermore, the Administrator withheld the approval of building plans and the loans that were needed until the matter of Boulevard East was settled.

---

<sup>240</sup> Before being altered to accommodate vehicular instead of pedestrian traffic.



THE NEW CIVIC CENTRE SITE (OUTLINED IN BLACK) ON THE FORESHORE.

Figure 74 – The site finally selected for the Civic Centre. To the right of it was the site originally earmarked for the Station Hotel. (Mayor's Minutes 1963)

While negotiations over the site were on-going, various teams had been assembled to work on the design. Three teams - South African, British and French - were appointed, with Beaudouin returning to Cape Town in 1961 as a member of the French team<sup>241</sup>. He apparently approved of the state of architecture that he saw emerging in the Cape, particularly on the Foreshore<sup>242</sup>. The design that emerged between the various teams was a tall Modernist wedge, and it departed from earlier proposals by straddling Hertzog Boulevard<sup>243</sup>. The tower block would house the administrative functions of the City Council, while a shorter podium block would house the Council Chamber, and provide the connection with the station deck. Another deck would be constructed over Hertzog Boulevard to connect with the proposed theatre complex and gardens. While the plans of the three teams submitted and approved in 1965, the City Council appointed the architects Meiring and

<sup>241</sup> A&B August 1961. pg. 34

<sup>242</sup> A&B September 1961. pg. 34

<sup>243</sup> The re-alignment of the tower block was first mooted in the 1956 exhibition, and no doubt reflected to desire to provide uninterrupted views of Table Mountain from the harbour - thus still reflecting the emphasis given to the Monumental Approach (an emphasis now sadly misplaced by SAR&H's abandonment of the Maritime Terminal.



Naude to construct an initial phase in 1963<sup>244</sup>. However, both men passed away shortly thereafter, and the remaining partner in the firm, Hannes van der Merwe, assumed responsibilities. With the final approval given by the Administrator for the road networks in 1969, and approval given by Parliament for the Civic Centre to be built across Hertzog Boulevard<sup>245</sup>, the complex could begin construction in 1970 - though it will take nearly 10 years before realising completion.

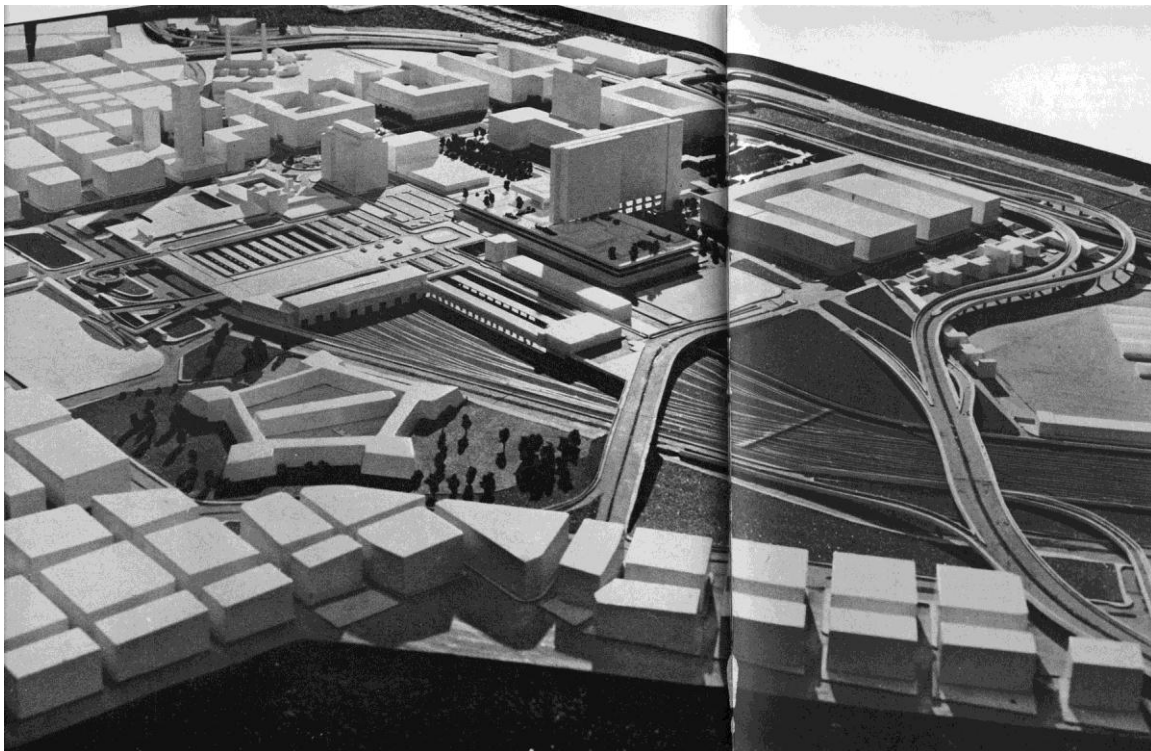


Figure 75 – The final proposed form of the Civic Centre complex, straddling Hertzog Boulevard, with the new Table Bay flyovers (Honikman, *Cape Town, City of Good Hope*, 1966)

In 1964 the Provincial Administrator of the Cape, Nicolas ‘Nico’ Malan, cited the need for a new cultural centre, an Opera House, in the city<sup>246</sup>. The original Opera House had been demolished in the 1920s, and the privately-owned and classically designed Alhambra Theatre did not suit the political aspirations of the new Republic. Given the significance of the proposed Opera House, and its intended relation to the Civic Centre complex (an internationally accepted relation, and one given reference in the 1947 Plan), the site chosen was that of the proposed Monumental Gardens - a barren area of land that had not received the landscaping envisaged in the 1947 Plan or the MoT report. The scheme was intended to be completed in time for the 10-year anniversary Republic Festival in 1971 (on the site of the earlier Van Riebeeck Festival). Again, a team of respected

<sup>244</sup> Morris, *The Cape Town Foreshore Scheme - Origins and Evolution*, pg. 16

<sup>245</sup> CE Report 1965, pg. 32

<sup>246</sup> A&B January 1969, pg. 21

experts<sup>247</sup> was assembled, and sent on an ambitious survey of opera houses and cultural centres in Europe and North America in 1965 - managing to see an impressive 52 venues in 53 days<sup>248</sup>. Work began in 1968 and was completed within two years.



Figure 76 – The Artscape Theatre (renamed from Nico Malan post-1994), with the Civic Centre on the right (Author photo, 2012)

The new Opera House, named the Nico Malan Theatre in honour of the outgoing Administrator, would be the final act that removed the importance of the Monumental Approach axis, sinking the 'Gateway to South Africa' concept. The public gardens of the envisaged Monumental Gardens would finally be landscaped, named 'Founders Garden' as a nod to the significance of the space during the Van Riebeeck Festival, but fenced off from the general public. The hard landscaping around the Opera House, coupled with its severe exterior and bunker-like appearance, contributed to the association often made between this Brutalist style of architecture, and the brutal nature of the apartheid state. The theatre would also reflect a continued 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore through buildings that employed a certain visual language, and the commemorative act of naming.

<sup>247</sup> SH Todd (Provincial Architect), JDP van der Merwe and HAP Kent A&B October 1965, pg. 26

<sup>248</sup> A&B January 1969, pg. 21

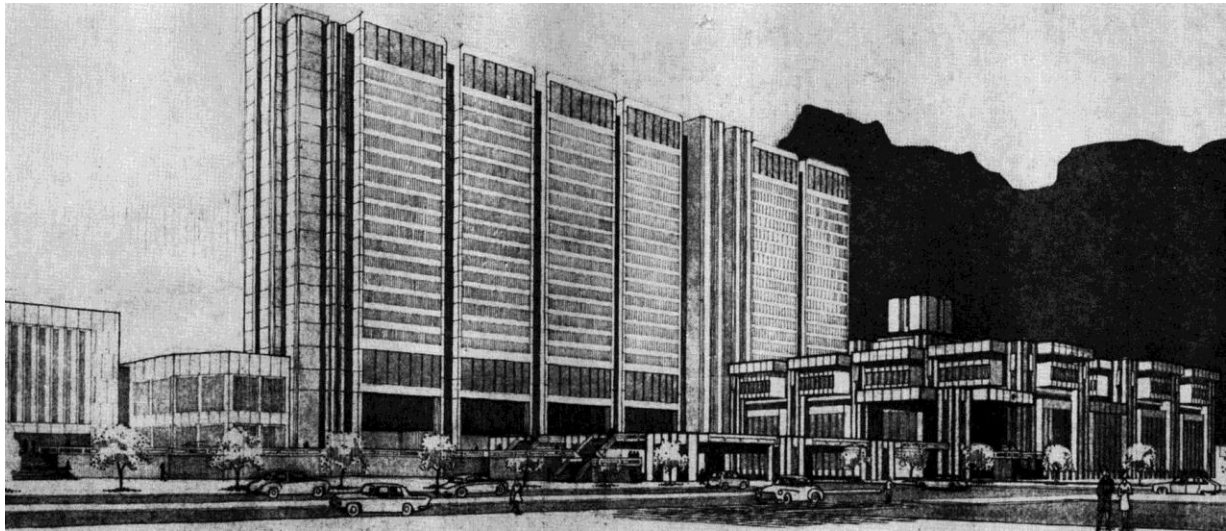


Figure 77 – The imposing wedge of the Administrative Tower, with the bulky Council Chamber podium block to its right. The deck spanning Hertzog Boulevard in the centre provides a connection to the equally imposing Nico Malan Theatre. The ground perspective adds to the grandeur of the tower block, though possibly also seeks to give an impression of the area for pedestrians.

The 1960s saw a continued effort by the Nationalist government to assert its power in the face of increasing isolation. Through grand public works projects, commemorations and festivals that celebrated the new Republic, it sought to entrench its political legitimacy in the face of rising African nationalism and international criticism<sup>249</sup>. However, as the 1960s progressed and development on the Foreshore stalled, the optimism that carried it quickly evaporated. The effect of the Cape weather was particularly singled out, and the open, dusty parking lots that occupied undeveloped land were symbols of the stagnation. The dreary architecture, the flight back to the old city by businesses, the wide road crossings that were unfriendly to pedestrians and the lack of significant amenities meant it was not a desirable destination. The new Civic Centre and Nico Malan Theatre would do little to improve this - their Brutalist facades were even more unwelcoming, with the wind tunnels under the Civic Centre developed the reputation for toppling busses, and pedestrians had to cling to railings and lamp posts to avoid being whipped away. This can be partly be linked to the call by Scott to avoid planning from above, and to employ localised knowledge<sup>250</sup>. The architect of the Foreshore's foundations, Beaudouin, was new to Cape Town, and worked from April until June, when the full force of the south-easterly wind wouldn't have been felt. It could be argued that a local architect could have foreseen this weakness, though the effect of tower blocks in creating wind vortices was something that only began to attract attention and study in the 1960s.

<sup>249</sup> Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, pg. 11-12

<sup>250</sup> Scott, *Seeing Like a State*



Even Morris appeared to reconsider his earlier optimism of the Foreshore's development, attacking the buildings in a speech to fellow engineers:

Are these dreary and characterless "egg-boxes" really symbols of progress? Or are they merely massive manifestations of our materialistic modern society and the faceless anonymity with which it is synonymous – reflections of an age in which individual identity and aspiration have been lost in the face of industrial omnipotence, growing commercial colossi, institutional aggrandisement and ever-increasing Governmental bureaucracy?<sup>251</sup>

The perceived 'failure' of the Foreshore and the increasing disconnection of the city from the sea can be seen in terms of the constant disputes over solutions to traffic and funding responsibilities. This delayed interventions on the Foreshore, undermining development and the monumentality of the 1947 Plan. The poor integration of the old city with the new can be seen in the poor linkage of the Station Deck the slow pace of development on the Foreshore. The fences installed at the harbour during the war became maintained with steadily increasing security over time, and the construction of a new tanker basin in 1963 to accommodate even larger ships (and to provide for the new oil refinery in Milnerton) would further entrench a separation between the city and sea.

Another crucial piece that was overlooked by the planners was the Table Bay Power Station: the misreading of its future role was a significant flaw in the planning of the Foreshore. Its presence would deter developers, resulting in the failure of the proposed 'Adderley Place' shopping district that was supposed to be the major drawcard of the Foreshore. It further impeded the development of the Ring Road system, eventually leading to the conclusion that raised flyovers were the only option for this area. Had the Power Station been an accepted factor in the 1947 Plan until its demolition in the 1980s, the Foreshore could have turned out quite differently.

---

<sup>251</sup> Solomon Morris, *Civil Engineering and the Urban Environment – Presidential Address to the South African Institution of Civil Engineers* (March 1970), pg. 22





Figure 78 – The Table Bay Power Station; a significant barrier to the Foreshore's development. (Store photo in the UCT Built Environment Library, 1966)

## Conclusion

Town planning emerged in South Africa following rapid urbanisation in the early twentieth century, and the adoption of international examples of town planning legislation. The chief influence came from Britain, but American concepts of zoning also became key features of local town planning schemes. South African town planning legislation allowed for greater control over the built environment, through a discourse of 'urban modernism' that emphasised scientific rationalism, a discourse in Cape Town employed by engineers, such as Solomon Morris, who implemented the 'utopian' schemes imagined chiefly by architects.

This thesis has analysed how debates around controlling the built environment were played out in Cape Town around contested visions for the city's Foreshore. In the first three decades of the twentieth century the Cape elite, consisting of City Councillors, businessmen, and architects, called primarily for a removal of the railway lines that appeared to sever Cape Town from the sea, and for the restoration of this important link. These calls took form in idealised visual schemes and plans – such as those by McLeod, Delbridge and Allen. Such 'utopian' schemes reflected the desire for a more beautiful and orderly city, an order that could be imposed through newly available town planning legislation. It has been argued that the common theme of these schemes was a removal of the railway lines from the CBD of Cape Town, a rehabilitation of the Castle, and improved road networks.

However, it was shown that the SAR&H was preoccupied with the construction of minor harbour works in a time of economic depression, and wasn't prepared to engage with these schemes. The City Council was further divested of control of the Foreshore through the Sea Shore Bill of 1935, a loss of control over potential municipal land that was compounded by the Council's reliance on funds from provincial and national authorities. These two factors would continue to place the Council on the back foot throughout negotiations with the SAR&H over the Foreshore. Tensions between these authorities are demonstrated by the numerous unrealised visions for Cape Town, and the slow pace of development that delayed significant projects such as the Civic Centre.

The academic and professional debates around town planning, as we have seen, reached their peak in the 1938 Town Planning Congress, a significant event for the actors (Thornton White and Kantorowich) that participated, and who would later work on schemes for Cape Town. This Congress, with its high praise of the Modernist master, Le Corbusier, and the Business Centre for Cape Town Scheme, led to the emphasis given to the Corbusian tradition in town planning and architecture in South Africa. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, Le Corbusier's influence has been overstated in earlier work that has commented on Cape Town Foreshore development. Thornton White, despite championing Le Corbusier at the Congress, demonstrated (in his work for the SAR&H) more of a City Beautiful influence in his town planning schemes, though he, like most, advocated for Modernist building forms. Similarly, Kantorowich, by the time he was appointed to the CTFJTC, had moderated his attitude towards Le Corbusier.

The City Beautiful movement was given greater prominence in Cape Town's planning by the Council's architect, Eugene Beaudouin. It is argued that greater credit should be given to Beaudouin than hitherto existed for his role in producing a spatial design that was eventually implemented on the Foreshore. Beaudouin's concept of the Monumental Approach, while similar to Thornton White and Longstreth Thompson, was given additional force through his play for a grand cross-axial boulevard that would become a major feature of Cape Town (Boulevard East and West). However, these would also be a major obstacle in Cape Town's subsequent development, as negotiations over the route and construction of the Boulevards dragged out over a number of years, and were eventually much altered. Beaudouin's work on the subsequent 1947 Plan, along with his work in the 1950s and 60s on the design of the Civic Centre, has previously gone almost completely unreported.

The fact is that not only was South African town planning legislation modelled on international examples, but international architects and town planners were also hired to plan Cape Town. This indicated the ubiquitous transnational nature of Modernist discourse, and the desire in the minds of planners, architects and engineers to realise a scheme that would give Cape Town the (dubious) status of a 'world-class city'. These (white) international experts highlighted an existing (white) discourse of Cape Town as the 'Gateway to South Africa' (one imagined through the efforts of popular writers and the CPPA), and produced the Monumental Approach concept as a key element of their schemes. This concept highlighted the influence of the City Beautiful movement – one that emphasised monumentalism through grand axes and civic groupings. The distinction between the

traditions of the City Beautiful movement and High Modernism, as Peter Hall emphasises, is not so clear in the planning schemes for Cape Town. Rather, civic monumentalism and orderly city blocks from the former were combined with the strict functionalism of the latter, to produce a synthesis of these traditions.

This thesis has also demonstrated that the tensions between local and national authorities continued after the international experts had produced their plans. The Szlumper Committee (conceived of to resolve these tensions) resulted in significant concessions by the City Council, and the latter's desire to remove the barrier that the railways presented between city and sea was never properly achieved. This proved to be a major undoing in the Foreshore's development, contributing to its perceived failure to integrate the new city with the old.

The 1947 Plan was thus a crystallisation of the varied debates over many years around town planning, architecture, and the future form of Cape Town. It was a utopian scheme framed in the context of post-war optimistic futurism and reconstructionist rhetoric. While the 1947 Plan would account for significant elements of the final form of the Foreshore, its prominence was critically diminished through its implementation by engineers (in Morris and the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* report), and more crucially, in the failure by the SAR&H to complete the Maritime Terminal. This failure stemmed from the fall in ocean traffic and the concomitant rapid rise in air transport. Most prominent in the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* was the relocation of the Civic Centre, the concept of a Ring Road system, and the alteration of Boulevards East and West to the routes they follow today.

However, it has been argued that the proposals of the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* were themselves subject to the continuing tensions between local and international authorities as the Foreshore Board directed development on the Foreshore; while the Provincial Administrator withheld national funds and exercised veto rights granted to him under the (Cape) Town Planning Ordinance of 1937. The dramatic growth in the volume of motor car traffic, and the enduring belief that it needed to be accommodated, led to massive new schemes that would again follow international example (though now more American), with wide highways and elevated traffic interchanges. Cape Town's infamous 'lost highways' and Table Bay flyovers would emerge out of a continuous series of negotiations between local, provincial and national bodies (and the additional input of international 'experts').



As this thesis has argued, the final plan of 1947 also neatly dovetailed with a growing Afrikaner nationalism and the National Party's rise to power in. This convergence co-incided with a significant commemorative event a few years later in 1952 - The Van Riebeeck Festival – thus laying the new space of the Foreshore with the symbolic triumphalism of white South African (and especially Afrikaner nationalist) values. This was reflected in the statues, skyscrapers, festivals, fountains, civic monumentalism, and commemorative naming of places that marked territorial claims and enforced political legitimacy in what proved to be a gradual 'Afrikanerisation' of the Foreshore. The idea of Cape Town as the 'Mother City', or as the 'Gateway to South Africa', constantly echoed in popular writing and tourist promotions, was based on a teleological version of history that framed Van Riebeeck as the 'founding father' of a nation, and was thus realised through the concept of the Monumental Approach. The buildings that arose were symbols of the 'new order' on new ground, reflecting the convergence of technological progress with socio-economic progress. Above all they reflected that the modern South African state was able to maintain a sense of respectability through adherence to notions of modernity that were established in the hegemonic centres of Europe and North America. South Africans had always looked to these centres for inspiration, though the movement of ideals along transnational networks were usually negotiated and transformed in local contexts.

The utopian promises of the 1947 Plan, best shown in the 1956 "Cape Town, Your City" exhibition, illustrated the optimism of the era in producing a city that would be the positive antithesis of the dark, congested industrial city of the nineteenth century. Yet the notion of Cape Town as an ideal 'Metropolis of Tomorrow', framed by a grand ceremonial 'Gateway', was ultimately undone by the application of what Gunn describes as 'banal modernism'; an awkward and disappointing negotiation between twentieth-century visionary idealists and pragmatic technocrats.

## Appendix A: Cape Town 66

The three major visions for the Foreshore in this period are the 1947 Plan, the MoT Report, and the Cape Town 66 Report<sup>252</sup>. Unlike the first two however, and despite the high profile of its authors, it had no impact on Cape Town's built form.<sup>253</sup>

The chief author of Cape Town 66 was Roelof Uytenbogaardt, noted as one of the most prominent South African architects of the twentieth century. Graduating from UCT in 1956 with top honours, he went on to win the RIBA Prix de Rome<sup>254</sup> in 1957. From there he departed from tradition amongst South African architects who traditionally looked to British universities, and went to the University of Pennsylvania where he studied under the noted American modernist architect Louis Kahn, and the noted planner, David Crane. Graduating with top honours again in architecture and urban planning, Uytenbogaardt would serve on the Boston Redevelopment Authority for two years, before returning to Cape Town in 1963. Praised by Crane as one of their most talented students, Uytenbogaardt quickly assumed a position in the School of Architecture at UCT, and entered into professional practice<sup>255</sup>. His avant-garde Khanian-inspired buildings, such as the UCT Sports Centre, the Werdmuller Centre, and the Bonwit Factory, marked him as one of South Africa's leading Modernists.

With such acclaim surrounding him, Uytenbogaardt was appointed by the Foreshore Board in 1965 to examine the current Foreshore Plan and submit proposals for the possible re-planning of the undeveloped sections (the possible findings of the Shand Committee raised the likelihood of the Foreshore layout being changed to suit the new transport network)<sup>256</sup>. Uytenbogaardt assembled a notable team of architects, urban planners and geographers to complete an incredibly comprehensive survey of the Foreshore, and to propose a new vision for it. However, in his enthusiasm for the task, Uytenbogaardt seems to have overstepped the scope of his appointment,

---

<sup>252</sup> Roelof Uytenbogaardt, *Cape Town Foreshore 66: Planned development for Roggebaai: an examination of the Foreshore and proposals for its effective redevelopment* (Cape Town, March 1966)

<sup>253</sup> I am aware of Noeleen Murray's PhD thesis (2011) on Uytenbogaardt, but at the time of writing I was unable to obtain a copy.

<sup>254</sup> This makes him the 3rd Prix de Rome winner to work on Cape Town's foreshore - Thornton White and Beaudouin (those his was not awarded through the RIBA) were the other recipients of an award that demonstrates the importance given to Rome in Eurocentric architectural thought.

<sup>255</sup> Basil Brink, *Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt (1933-1998), Architect and Urban Designer – Biography* (<http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/5804/Biography%20-%20Uytenbogaardt%20Roelof%20Sarel%20June%202012.doc?sequence=1> - accessed 28 November 2012)

<sup>256</sup> CTFB-AR 1965, pg.10

and while the diagnosis of Cape Town 66 seemed incredibly well-researched and relevant, his subsequent vision seemed to be misplaced (and no doubt misunderstood by the authorities).

Identifying the clear problem of pedestrian and vehicle contact in the city (such as the massive barrier of the Heerengracht), Uytenbogaardt followed contemporary practice of advocating a clear separation between pedestrians and vehicles, largely through the use of raised platforms. These 'streets in the sky' would allow for the constant mobility of pedestrians, while ensuring that vehicular traffic flowed smoothly. His alternative solution to the Table Bay flyovers was a multi-level structure over Hertzog Boulevard. This would accommodate pedestrian and vehicular traffic over separate levels, and link the important areas of the civic centre, and the proposed shopping precinct. The design demonstrates Uytenbogaardt's preference for 45-degree angles, and massive, multi-layered Brutalist structures.

Unfortunately Uytenbogaardt appeared to have missed a recent proclamation by the Minister of Lands that any highway over Hertzog Boulevard (as also proposed by Morris as an alternative for the flyover) was expressly forbidden (likely due to the political significance of Hertzog's legacy, and possibly also the massive costs that would have been involved)<sup>257</sup>. The technical committee that considered his report (chaired by Morris) completely dismissed Cape Town 66, citing the lack of input from a traffic engineer, no regard for costs, and a general lack of practical engineering<sup>258</sup>. Given that Morris had been actively involved in the scheme for the Table Bay flyovers for the past 10 years, and was no doubt becoming frustrated with constant bureaucratic interventions, the Committee's dismissal highlights the indifference felt between engineers and academic planners.

Despite the prominence of its authors, no further mention was made of the Cape Town 66 Report in the local newspapers or professional journals. Even the annual report of the Foreshore Board for 1966-7 contained no reference to it at all (even though the Board had commissioned the report).

---

<sup>257</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee appointed to deal with Section 1 of the report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town on "Cape Town Foreshore 66"* (Cape Town: 1966), pg. 6

<sup>258</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee appointed to deal with Section 1 of the report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town on "Cape Town Foreshore 66"*

AXONOMETRIC VIEW  
HERTZOG BOULEVARD AND THE  
ASSOCIATED PEDESTRIAN WALKWAYS

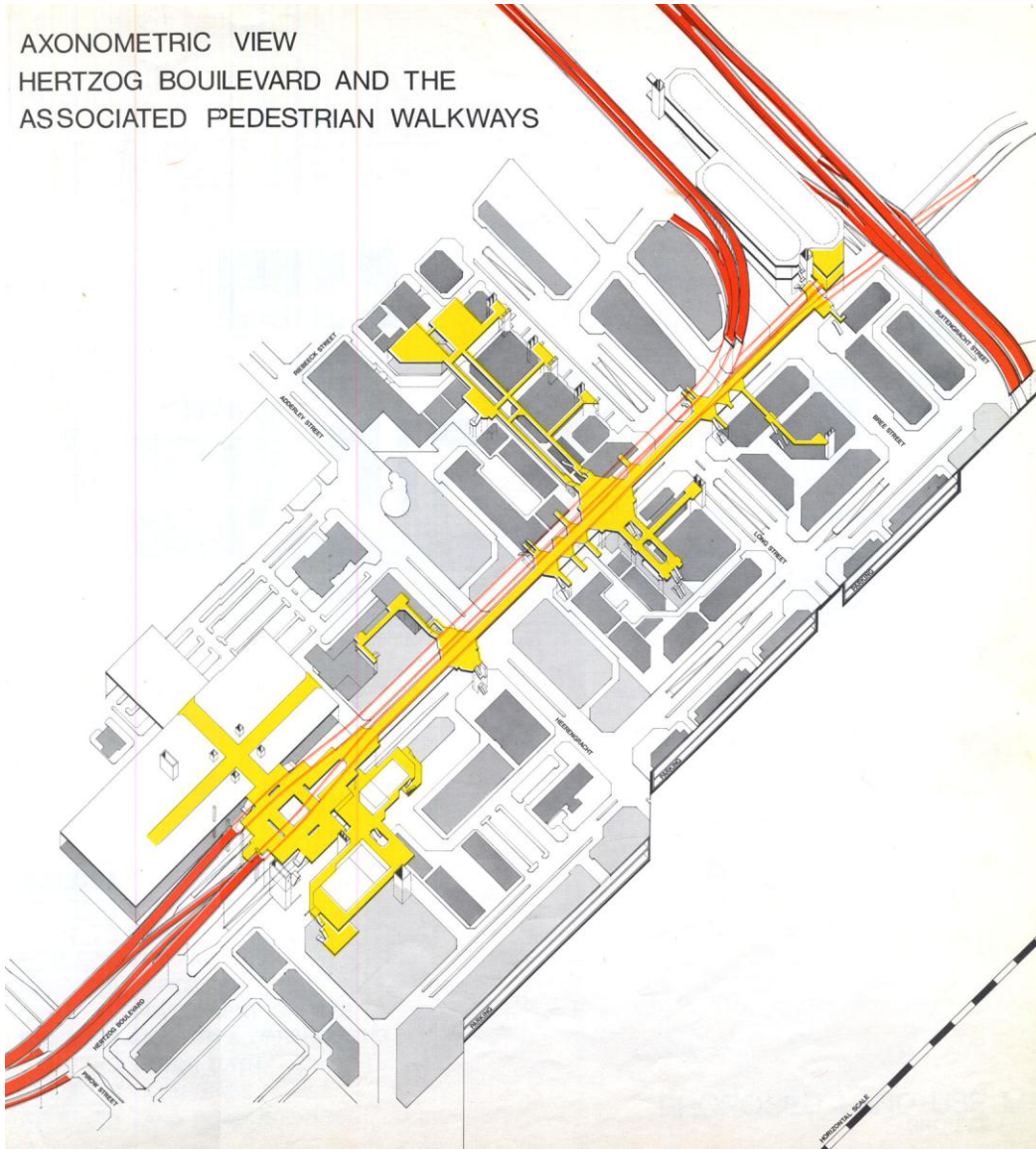


Figure 79 – The raised, multi-level highway over Hertzog Boulevard. The Heerengracht is also reduced in width, with greater park space made available. (Cape Town 66, 1966)



## Appendix B: The Diemont Commission of Inquiry

Issues around the application of town-planning legislation in Cape Town and that of high-rise buildings was highlighted by the Commission of Inquiry ordered by the Administrator of the Cape Province in 1961 (hereafter referred to as the Diemont Commission, since it was chaired by former Justice Marius Diemont)<sup>259</sup>. The Commission came about following an incident involving Councillor Bowman, who had highlighted the improper application of the Town Planning Scheme in the city. Bowman had parked at Mimosa, one of the new blocks of flats that were typical of the post-war construction boom in Sea Point, but someone in the block objected to his parking and had pasted a notice on his windscreen. Infuriated, Bowman inquired as to the provisions for parking at the City Engineer's Town Planning Office, and subsequently uncovered a hive of maladministration and corruption.

The report summed this up as; "It was apparent that something was rotten in the State of Denmark, and it is to the credit of the City Council that it took the decision to ask for a judicial enquiry."<sup>260</sup> The Diemont Commission continued for another 2 years, uncovering instances of corruption and mismanagement, and enduring several instances of Councillors trying to block its efforts, staff members being victimised, and even Diemont himself being offered substantial bribes. Buildings from Sea Point to Wynberg were investigated, along with the architects and owners, and structure of the City Engineer's Department was called into question.

The Diemont Commission concluded that "The Town-Planning Scheme has at times been very badly administered and it has been very badly administered because it is too involved and few persons have understood it properly."<sup>261</sup> Several architects, including Max Meyer, Albert & Szoke, and Bergamasco were identified as blatantly flouting the provisions of the Scheme, while Councillor Kellner who chaired the Plans Committee was eventually prosecuted for abusing his position and engaging in corrupt practises during the construction of the Silwood building in Rondebosch. Many buildings investigated were found to contravene the allowances for bulk and height under the

---

<sup>259</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Town Planning Scheme* (Cape Town, 1963). Diemont had just concluded his role as head of the Langa Commission, which was established to investigate the 1960 riots and shootings in Langa, following those in Sharpeville.

<sup>260</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, pg. 6

<sup>261</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, pg. 405

Scheme. Quite alarmingly, the officials in the Town Planning Office were found to have no proper academic qualifications (one or two not even having a matric), and it was found that a tradition of receiving 'Christmas presents' was in place, and that Councillors had easy access to officials, and even consulted for some of their constituents. Most notably, the numerous plans, Council resolutions and amendments from the Administrator that made up the Town-Planning Scheme, were found to be inaccessible, convoluted and in urgent need of review - a point that had been raised by Morris in 1961<sup>262</sup>. The inability of the City Engineer to properly administer his department was highlighted by the fact that there were 14 branches and 7-8000 personnel under him, while he pointed out the lack of competent staff, inadequate salaries and orders to freeze appointments from the Council<sup>263</sup>.

The issue of building regulations was also raised, mirroring similar debates in the architectural journals over the proposed South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) Building Regulations. Prominent architects under the CPIA supported the adoption of this standards, as they would allow for a unified scheme applicable to the whole country, and cut through the convoluted and outdated system that Cape Town had accumulated over the years. This was opposed by Morris, who felt it better to maintain a system developed within the City, and did nothing to improve relations between the City Engineer and architects in the city, who had been unsuccessfully arguing with the Council for the established of the position of City Architect. The Diemont Commission had concurred that a strong case existed for one, and that "Architecture, Building Survey and Town-Planning should be under the control of an Architect Town-Planner."<sup>264</sup>

It does not appear that the recommendations of the Diemont Commission were implemented by the City Council, nor was the position of City Architect ever realised<sup>265</sup>.

---

<sup>262</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, pg. 117

<sup>263</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, pg. 129

<sup>264</sup> *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, pg. 127

<sup>265</sup> This excluded the position of the head of the Architecture Branch, who was a qualified architect, but was primarily in charge of Council housing projects

## Appendix C: The long road

While the scheme for roads outlined in the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* Report had been accepted by the City Council, rapidly increasing traffic loads on the Foreshore led the Provincial Secretary to convene a conference on 14 December 1955 between all the authorities concerned, to investigate the future of Boulevard East and the various road linkages<sup>266</sup>. It was apparent that the 1947 Plan had greatly underestimated the dramatic increase in traffic numbers (future roads would bring in nearly four times the traffic load at the time<sup>267</sup>), and extensive deviations to the scheme were called for. The Provincial Administrator established the Boulevard East Technical Committee to investigate the matter<sup>268</sup>.

The Committee reported that the 1947 Plan had to be abandoned, and new interchanges built. The Castle Road Interchange was no longer feasible, nor was it feasible for Boulevard East to terminate on the Heerengracht. The N9-Oswald Pirow Street-Table Bay Boulevard interchange was also incredibly overtaxed, placing strain on harbour and goods yard traffic. Boulevard East was to be prioritised with four lanes of traffic in either direction, while De Waal Drive was to be expanded (the future possibility of another link road to pass behind Rhodes Memorial was mooted as a possibility from the 1947 Plan, but it was not deemed immediately relevant)<sup>269</sup>. Grade-separated interchanges were proposed for the N9-Oswald Pirow Street-Table Bay Boulevard interchange, and the Heerengracht-Table Bay Boulevard interchange. Bree Street was proposed to replace Buitengracht as the western arm of the Ring Road, thus avoiding the Lutheran Church complex (a recently proclaimed National Monument) and overcoming the problematic link posed by the Table Bay Power Station<sup>270</sup>. These views were supported by the City Engineer Traffic Survey in 1956, which became the quantified basis of further recommendations.

---

<sup>266</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee Appointed by His Honour the Administrator to Investigate Location of Boulevard East on the Foreshore and Certain Traffic Problems Associated Therewith* (Cape Town, 1956), pg.1

<sup>267</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee Appointed by His Honour the Administrator to Investigate Location of Boulevard East on the Foreshore and Certain Traffic Problems Associated Therewith*, pg.7

<sup>268</sup> The committee included: Morris, FJ Hugo (Provincial Roads Engineer), JM Hoffman (Regional Engineer, Dept. of Transport), RL de Wet (Architect), JFM Zoutendyk (Resident Engineer, South African Railways)

<sup>269</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee Appointed by His Honour the Administrator to Investigate Location of Boulevard East on the Foreshore and Certain Traffic Problems Associated Therewith*, pg. 12-15

<sup>270</sup> *Report of the Technical Committee Appointed by His Honour the Administrator to Investigate Location of Boulevard East on the Foreshore and Certain Traffic Problems Associated Therewith*, pg.16-17

While a copy of the report was unavailable, it appears that the Western Exit Technical Committee of 1957 was the first to propose the idea of raised flyovers on the Foreshore<sup>271</sup>. This was to accommodate the problem posed by the Table Bay Power Station, and Imperial Cold Storage site, both of which required a constant rail link to supply coal and transport respectively. The solution was to follow the example of American highway engineers<sup>272</sup>, and introduce grade-separated interchanges and raised flyovers. Freeways were the logical solution to creating fast, free-flowing traffic that would avoid the congestion that modern planners so dreaded. The possibility of extending Hertzog Boulevard to Boulevard West via a raised cross-town expressway was dismissed as creating an unsightly barrier in the city centre<sup>273</sup>, and encroaching on the proposed Civic Centre complex and Monumental Approach<sup>274</sup>. The Table Bay flyover was also to establish a proper interchange with Boulevard West, and extend further up the Buitengracht, disgorging traffic as far up as Riebeeck Square. This was later confirmed in Morris' 1960 report, *Freeways, parking and the civic centre: a development plan for central Cape Town*.

It appeared that Morris had submitted a report to the City Council on 19 May 1959, and acting on this the Council had requested the Provincial Administration and the Foreshore Board to appeal to the Minister of Lands to constitute of Joint Technical Committee to settle the matter. However, the Minister countered that the 1947 Plan still stood (the 1950 Act had effectively enshrined the Plan in law), and the only departure should be an extension of the Eastern Boulevard beneath the Heerengracht<sup>275</sup>. In *Freeways, parking and the civic centre*, Morris reiterated his rejection of the 1947 Plan:

It was evolved at a time when two important principles of road planning and civic design - the freeway concept and ring road principle, which are today universally accepted, were virtually unknown in South Africa. What is needed is a new road plan based on these principles.<sup>276</sup>

---

<sup>271</sup> Solomon Morris, *Freeways, Parking and the Civic Centre: A development plan for central Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1960), pg. 9

<sup>272</sup> British councils were portrayed as resisting their introduction, while Americans championed them. The infamous 'Spaghetti Junction' outside of Birmingham was a well cited example of British antipathy towards large, raised traffic interchanges.

<sup>273</sup> To the extent that the Minister of Lands issued an edict prohibited such a scheme. This was likely due to the prominence of Hertzog in Afrikaner Nationalist history.

<sup>274</sup> Morris, *Freeways, Parking and the Civic Centre*, pg. 27

<sup>275</sup> Morris, *Freeways, Parking and the Civic Centre*, pg. 2

<sup>276</sup> Morris, *Freeways, Parking and the Civic Centre*, pg. 2



Employing freeways via flyovers to create a ring road complex was thus the most logical course of action.

With the north and western sections of the ring road scheme established, the matter of the south and eastern sections were attended to in a follow-up report; *The Central City Ring Road, detailed development plan*<sup>277</sup>. The National Monuments Council had given approval for the road through the Company Gardens, but the permission of the Secretary of Lands was required<sup>278</sup>. All that awaited was final permission from the Provincial Administrator. The City Council was dependent on funds from the National and Provincial Governments - a 10-year, £15 million roads programme, initiated in 1958 was put in place to create the vast new roads network in and around Cape Town<sup>279</sup>. With the rapidly rising costs of road construction, such funds were crucial to the City Council's building plans.

However, approval was not forthcoming from the Provincial Administrator, who commissioned a further joint technical committee of experts to examine the proposed road network (despite Boulevard East already being approved two years prior, it would appear that spiraling costs were alarming the Administration). In 1962 the committee was convened, consisting of Ninham Shand, William Holford and Alger F Malo (known as the Shand Committee)<sup>280</sup>. They met twice in Cape Town, twice in London, and Malo spent time in Cape Town with other experts from Detroit<sup>281</sup>. At stake was also the matter of the newly proposed Customs Building in the harbour.

The Shand Committee Report integrated and confirmed most of the recommendations of the Boulevard East Technical Committee, the Western Exit Technical Committee, and the findings in *Freeways, parking and the civic centre* and *The Central City Ring Road, detailed development plan*. The concept of a ring road and elevated flyovers on the Foreshore were confirmed (see Figure 27), though a significant modification was made to the south arm of the ring road - it would no longer

---

<sup>277</sup> Solomon Morris, *The Central City Ring Road: Detailed development plan* (Cape Town, July 1960)

<sup>278</sup> Solomon Morris, *The Central City Ring Road*, pg. 1-2

<sup>279</sup> By 1962 this would rise by a third to R40 million - reflecting the currency change in 1961. *Memorandum submitted by Dr Morris to Committee of Road Consultants - Basic data forming the background to investigation of road planning in the central business district of Cape Town* (July 1962), pg.1

<sup>280</sup> Shand was a highly regarded civil engineer in Cape Town, while Malo was the Director of Traffic and Streets in the heart of the American auto-industry – Detroit.

<sup>281</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants on Road, Traffic and Town Planning in Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1963), pg. 3. Hereafter referred to as the Shand Committee Report.

pass through the Company Gardens but use the Mill-Annadale-Orange Street route that stands today<sup>282</sup>. Buitengracht was chosen for the western arm of the ring road, and would be extended to Kloof Nek Road via New Church Street, while Long and Loop Streets would become part of a one-way loop<sup>283</sup>. Extensive provisions for parking were confirmed based on the City Engineer's earlier 1957 report; *Parking in the Central Business District of Cape Town* (and best case examples of integrated parking garages from the US were demonstrated)<sup>284</sup>. A massive computer-controlled traffic light system was recommended, based on that employed in Detroit<sup>285</sup>, while pedestrians would be protected from traffic interchanges through the increased application of separated levels - such as subways and overpasses<sup>286</sup>.

With the submission of the Shand Committee Report, the Administrator further dragged matters out by appointing another technical committee<sup>287</sup> to consider the recommendations of the Shand Committee. Their Interim Report of March 1964 quickly confirmed the urgency of the implementation of the Shand Committee Report, noting continuing increases in traffic and the need to integrate Boulevard East (scheduled for completion in 1967) into the Foreshore road system<sup>288</sup>. The Second Report of November 1964 dealt with the complicated matter of the Western Exit and the Imperial Cold Storage (ICS) and Power Station sites. It had been emphasised in the Interim Report that these were considered temporary<sup>289</sup>, and now it was urged that ICS be made to vacate their site, while the siding to the Power Station would be replaced by a conveyor belt system, thus helping to free up the obstacles of the railways that supplied the area. While the City Council had adopted the Interim Report, the Foreshore Board was not prepared to do so until the matter of the railways could be settled<sup>290</sup>. Concerned about the appearance of massive flyovers on the Foreshore, the City Council had requested an architectural competition to find an aesthetically pleasing

---

<sup>282</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants*, pg. 6

<sup>283</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants*, pg. 6

<sup>284</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants*, pg. 45-55

<sup>285</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants*, pg. 58

<sup>286</sup> *Report of Committee of Consultants*, pg. 8-9

<sup>287</sup> The committee included: Morris, FJ Hugo (Provincial Roads Engineer), Prof Pryce Lewis, JFM Zoutendyk (Engineer - SAR&H), JG Elliot (Harbour Engineer - SAR&H), and EB Cloete (Planning Engineer - Dept of Transport)

<sup>288</sup> *Interim report of the Technical Committee Appointed to Deal with Section 1 of the Report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1964)

<sup>289</sup> The Power Station had been considered 'temporary' in the 1947 Plan, but the rapid demand for electricity post-war, combined with the end of the power-sharing agreement with Eskom, meant that it could not be retired in time - indeed it would only be retired in the 1980s.

<sup>290</sup> *Second report of the Technical Committee appointed to deal with Section 1 of the report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1964), pg. 1

solution<sup>291</sup> - this was rejected as “elevated carriageways are an engineering project but, where, necessary, architect can advise on aesthetic aspects of the design.”<sup>292</sup> Morris had previously emphasised the elegance of various bridges and highways in the Cape that had been engineered to produce aesthetically pleasing forms<sup>293</sup>.

Further plans were submitted for the provision of parking in the city, and finally in 1968 were all proposed schemes on the Foreshore approved in principle by both City Council and the Provincial Administration<sup>294</sup>. The City Council appointed consulting engineers Van Niekerk, Kleyn and Edwards to do basic planning on the network of flyovers. The new consultants reported a scheme that differed from the Shand Committee, citing the inability of their scheme to deal with increased traffic loads - the revised cost nearly doubled to R26,300,000<sup>295</sup>. In 1969 the Administrator finally agreed, in principle, to cover 80% of the costs involved<sup>296</sup> (in that year Boulevard East was finally completed). To handle the massive outlay of capital required, construction would be split into three phases: the first constituting the Culemborg flyover, the second the Table Bay and Boulevard West viaducts, and the third phase would be the completed Western Exit up Buitengracht and terminating at Riebeeck Square. The third phase would also complete the link between the Boulevard West and Table Bay viaducts - it was the incompleteness of this phase that left Cape Town with the infamous ‘lost highways’.

---

<sup>291</sup> Proposed in Council by AH Honikman, a local architect, and Mayor; SAAR July 1964, pg. 29

<sup>292</sup> *Second report of the Technical Committee*, pg. 11

<sup>293</sup> Solomon Morris, *Urban Freeways – A South African approach to their design and construction with special reference to the City of Cape Town – An address to the South African Institution of Civil Engineers, Western Cape Regional Convention* (September 1961), Solomon Morris, *Freeways, Parking and Urban Evolution – An address to the Symposium on Urban Survival & Traffic at King’s College, University of Durham, Newcastle Upon Tyne* (April 1961)

<sup>294</sup> CE Report 1968, pg.39

<sup>295</sup> MM 1969, pg. 10

<sup>296</sup> MM 1969, pg. 10

# Bibliography

## Journals

Architect & Builder, 1951-1970 (missing volumes 4, 5, 8, 9)

Architect, Builder & Engineer, 1929-1941 (missing volume 24)

South African Architectural Record, 1930-1970

Kalendar, 1938-39

## Annual Reports

Capetown Foreshore Board Annual Reports, 1950-1970

Annual Report of the General Manager of Railways and Harbours, 1929-1971 (missing 1942, 44)

Report of the Railways and Harbours Board, 1936-1937

Mayor's Minutes, 1930-1971 (missing 1934)

Minutes and Proceedings of Council, 1934 & 1936

City Engineer, 1930-1971 (missing 1934, 66)

## Newspapers

*As part of the UCT MacMillan Collection*

Cape Argus

Cape Times

Sunday Times

## Acts of Parliament

Cape Town Foreshore Act 26 of 1950

Sea Shore Act 21 of 1935



## **Special reports published by the Cape Town City Engineer's Department**

DE Lloyd-Davies, *Report on Town Planning Procedure* (Cape Town, 1916)

City Council of Cape Town, *The City Engineer's report on the railway administration's plan for the development of the reclaimed Cape Town foreshore area* (Cape Town: City Engineer's Department, 1944)

Solomon Morris, *The preparation, administration and enforcement of building legislation* (Cape, 1949)

Solomon Morris, *City of Cape Town: the foreshore scheme: an initial construction programme* (Cape Town, 1950)

Solomon Morris, *City of Cape Town: provincial town planning scheme: preliminary statement. Second section, Woodstock to Wynberg* (Cape Town, 1950)

Solomon Morris, *City of Cape Town: "Metropolis of tomorrow" - a development plan for the central city and foreshore areas* (Cape Town, 1951)

Solomon Morris, *Exitways from buildings: explanatory memorandum on Municipal Building Regulation no. 944 together with complete text and index* (Cape Town, 1953)

Solomon Morris, *The New Market: First report* (Cape Town, 1953)

Solomon Morris, *Siting of the new Civic Centre* (Cape Town, 1953)

Solomon Morris, *Thermonuclear weapons* (1956)

Solomon Morris, *Freeways, parking and the civic centre: a development plan for central Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1960)

Solomon Morris, *The Central City Ring Road* (Cape Town, 1960)

Solomon Morris, *Memorandum submitted by Dr Morris to Committee of Road Consultants - Basic data forming the background to investigation of road planning in the central business district of Cape Town* (July 1962)

Solomon Morris, *Memorandum submitted by Dr Morris to Committee of Road Consultants - Traffic Flow analysis* (July 1962)

Solomon Morris, *The Golden Acre: a plan for the development of the old station site* (Cape Town, 1969)

## **Papers and presentations by Solomon Morris**

*Available in the UCT African Studies Library, and Cape Town Municipal Library*

Solomon Morris, *Some practical problems in town planning - an address delivered at a combined meeting of The Engineering and Scientific Society of the University of Cape Town, The Association of Professional Scientists of Southern Africa, and the South African Institution of Civil Engineers on the 7th October 1952* (Cape Town, 1952)

Solomon Morris, *The development of the Cape Town foreshore: a paper presented to the 32nd annual conference* (Cape Town, 1953)

Solomon Morris, *Problems of progress: the municipal engineer's contribution to the development of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1953)

Solomon Morris, *Toward a New Horizon – a preliminary approach to the problem of urban rehabilitation in Cape Town* (June 1962)

Solomon Morris, *Schedules of some published works* (Cape Town, 1958)

Solomon Morris, *Urban road problems with special reference to the city of Cape Town, Address to the Annual General Meeting of the South African Road Federation (Cape Region)* (Cape Town: City Engineer's Department : 1958)

Solomon Morris, *Freeways, Parking and Urban Evolution – An address to the Symposium on Urban Survival & Traffic at King's College, University of Durham, Newcastle Upon Tyne* (April 1961)

Solomon Morris, *Urban Freeways – A South African approach to their design and construction with special reference to the City of Cape Town – An address to the South African Institution of Civil Engineers, Western Cape Regional Convention* (September 1961)

Solomon Morris, *The City and the Motor Car – a synoptic approach - Presented at the IV World Meeting of International Road Federation, Madrid, (October 14-20, 1962)*

Solomon Morris, *Urban Evolution and Town and Regional Planning – a paper presented to the Annual Conference, 1963, of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (May, 1963)

Solomon Morris, *The Civil Engineer in Local Government – A paper presented to the Quinquennial Convention of the South African Institution of Civil Engineers* (Johannesburg, November 1963)

Solomon Morris, *"New Roads are Stimulus to Commercial Growth"* in 160 years of commercial progress. Supplement to the *Cape Argus*, May 12, 1964, pg.22

Solomon Morris, *The Impact of the Motor Car on Urban Evolution with particular reference to the City of Cape Town - An address presented to The University of Stellenbosch* (19 August 1965)

Solomon Morris, *Urban Freeways – An address to a National Congress on "Modern Roads for Modern Traffic", organised by the Portland Cement Institute* (Johannesburg, February 1966)

Solomon Morris, *Conurbation – Order or Chaos – Some problems of Metropolitan Growth – Paper presented to the Quinquennial Convention of the South African Institution of Civil Engineers* (July 1968)

Solomon Morris, *Civil Engineering and the Urban Environment – Presidential Address to the South African Institution of Civil Engineers* (March 1970)

Solomon Morris (President of SA Institute of Civil Engineers), *Urban Freeways and the Transport System - Paper presented to the 49th annual conference of the Institution of Municipal Engineers of Southern Africa* (April-May 1970)

Solomon Morris, *Freeways and the Urban Traffic problem* - Paper presented to the 11th International Study Week in Traffic and Safety Engineering (Brussels, 18-23 September 1972)

Solomon Morris, *Metropolis in the Making* - Paper to the 47th conference of The Institute of Municipal Engineers of Southern Africa

Solomon Morris, *The City's Planning Process* – a lecture with a display of plans and models of major schemes proposed or under construction to the Ward 17 Ratepayer's Associations, Herzl Hall, Wherry Road, Muizenberg, (Tuesday November 6 – 1973)

Solomon Morris, *The Cape Town Foreshore Scheme - Origins and Evolution*, Paper presented to the Interbou 80 Building Conference (Johannesburg, 1980)

### Other published reports

Donat Alfred Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro; extensão, remodelação e embelezamento, 1926-1930* (Paris, 1930)

E.E. Beaudouin, *Outline of scheme (Foreshore) for Cape Town (South Africa)* (Cape Town, 1940)

Basil Brink, *Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt (1933-1998), Architect and Urban Designer – Biography* (<http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/5804/Biography%20-%20Uytenbogaardt%20Roelof%20Sarel%20June%202012.doc?sequence=1> - accessed 28 November 2012)

Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *Cape Town Foreshore Plan, Interim Report*, (June 1946)

Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan: final report of the Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, June 1947* (Pretoria, 1948)

"Cape Town - Your City": an exhibition, presented by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1956 (Reprinted from *Architect and Builder*, August 1956)

*Final statement: proposed town-planning scheme of the portion of the Municipality of the City of Cape Town extending from Bakoven to Trafalgar Park* (Cape Town, 1941)

*Interim report of the Technical Committee Appointed to Deal with Section 1 of the Report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town*, (Cape Town, 1964)

F. Longstreth Thompson and L.S. Thornton White, *Report of the town planning advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore scheme* (Pretoria, 1940)

E.W.N. Mallows and J Beinart, *Report on proposed development of lots 144-148 the Foreshore, Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1964)

C.E. McLeod, *Proposed development of the Table Bay Foreshore of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1907)

*Report of Committee of Consultants on Road, Traffic and Town Planning in Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1963)

*Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Town Planning Scheme* (Cape Town, 1963)

*Report of the Harbour Affairs Commission, 1934* (Cape Town, 1935)

*Report of the Railway and Harbour Affairs Commission, 1934* (Pretoria, 1934)

*Report of the Technical Committee Appointed by His Honour the Administrator to Investigate, Location of Boulevard East on the Foreshore and Certain Traffic Problems Associated Therewith* (Cape Town, 1956)

*Report of the Technical Committee Appointed to Deal with Section 1 of the report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town on "Cape Town Foreshore 66"* (Cape Town, 1966)

*Report of the Technical Committee Appointed to Deal with the Report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town, on off street parking, Cape Town central city* (Cape Town, 1968)

*Report of the Technical Representatives appointed by the authorities concerned to consider a Proposed Road Pattern for the Central City, Cape Town* (November 1960)

Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt, *Cape Town Foreshore 66: Planned development for Roggebaai: an examination of the Foreshore and proposals for its effective redevelopment* (Cape Town, 1966)

*Second report of the Technical Committee appointed to deal with Section 1 of the report of the Committee of Consultants on Road Traffic and Town Planning in the Foreshore and Central City Area of Cape Town* (Cape Town: 1964)

Table Bay Harbour Board, *A short account of the construction of harbour works in Table Bay from 1656 to 1895* (Cape Town, 1895)

L.W. Thornton White, L. Silberman, P.R. Anderson, *Nairobi: master plan for a colonial capital* (London, 1948)

James Paton Watson and Sir Patrick Abercrombie, *A Plan for Plymouth - Report Prepared for the City Council* (Plymouth, 1943)

## **Theses**

Naomi Barnett, *Race, housing and town planning in Cape Town 1920-1940, with special reference to District Six* (MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993)

Naomi Barnett, *Ndabeni 1901-1910: towards a social history* (BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1985)

Nicholas Botha, *Roads to Reform: Public perceptions of convicts and convict labour in the Cape Colony and Eastern Province, 1840-48* (BA(Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011)



Nicholas Robert Coetzer, *The production of the city as a white space: representing and restructuring identity and architecture, Cape Town, 1892-1936* (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2003)

Barrie Gasson, *Table Bay Foreshore: A study in areal growth and functional change* (BA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1966)

Linda Graaff, *Re-presenting Cape Town through landscapes of social identity and exclusion: an interpretation of three power shifts and their modifications from 1652-1994* (MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2008)

Solomon Morris, *Augmentation of Urban Water Supplies, with Special Reference to the City of Cape Town Wemmershoek Scheme* (DSc thesis, University of Cape Town, 1958)

Sharóne Tomer, *Examining a boundary: spatial manifestations of social practice along the Buitengracht, Cape Town, 1652 - 2005* (MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2006)

Daniel Petrus Smit, *The political economy of urban and regional planning in South Africa, 1900 to 1988: towards theory to guide progressive practice* (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1989)

Andre van Graan, *Negotiating Modernism in Cape Town: 1918-1948: An investigation into the introduction, contestation, negotiation and adaptation of modernism in the architecture of Cape Town* (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town: 2011)

## Journal articles

Alan Mabin, 'Urban Crisis, Growth Management, and the History of Metropolitan Planning in South Africa', *Urban Forum* 6, 1 (1995)

Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995)

Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31, 2 (2003),

Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Urban History in the new South Africa: continuity and innovation since the end of apartheid', *Urban History*, 35, 2 (2008)

Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a city of the tourist imagination: the case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All'', *Urban Studies* 46, 9 (2009)

Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay, 'Vision, vested interest and pragmatism: who re-made Britain blitzed cities?', *Planning Perspectives*, 22, 4 (2007)

Simon Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism: Planning Bradford, circa 1945-1970', *Journal of British Studies*, 49, 4 (2010)

Matthew Hollow, 'Utopian urges: visions for reconstruction in Britain, 1940-1950', *Planning Perspectives*, 27, 4 (2012)

Alan Mabin and Daniel Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities: The making of urban planning 1900-2000', *Planning Perspectives*, 12, 2 (1997)

Solomon Morris, 'Municipal engineering in Africa's southern gateway', *The Surveyor and Municipal and County Engineer*, January 5 (1952)

Solomon Morris, 'Cape Town's Foreshore Scheme', *Architect and Builder*, November (1954)

Solomon Morris, 'Progress - but not enough!', *Public Works of South Africa*, April (1956)

Solomon Morris, 'Cape Town's Foreshore Scheme', *Architect and Builder*, September (1959)

Solomon Morris, 'Metropolis in the making: a decade of development', *The Town Planning Review*, 40, 2 (1969)

Susan Parnell, 'The built environment: neglected frontier of South African studies', *African Studies*, 55, 2 (1996)

Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin, 'Rethinking Urban South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995)

Peter Wilkinson, 'A Discourse of Modernity: the Social and Economic Planning Council's Fifth Report on Regional and Town Planning, 1944', *African Studies*, 55, 2 (1996)

### Chapters in published books

Margareth da Silva Pereira, 'The Time of the Capitals: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Words, Actors and Plans' in Arturo Almandoz (ed), *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950* (New York, 2002)

John R Gold, 'Modernity and Utopia' in Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short (eds), *The SAGE companion to the city* (London, 2008)

John Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map' in Trevor Barnes and James Duncan (eds), *Writing worlds: discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape* (London, 1992)

Daniel Herwitz, 'Modernism at the margins' in Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (eds), *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after* (Cape Town, 1998)

Lily Kong, 'Power and Prestige' in Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short (eds), *The SAGE companion to the city* (London, 2008)

Alan Mabin, 'Dispossession, exploitation and struggle: an historical overview of South African urbanization' in David M. Smith (ed), *The apartheid city and beyond: urbanization and social change in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1992)

Alan Mabin, 'Reconstruction and the making of urban planning in 20th-century South Africa' in Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (eds), *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after* (Cape Town, 1998)

Alan Mabin, 'Varied Legacies of Modernism in Urban Planning' in G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds) *A Companion to the City* (Oxford, 2000)

Malcom Miles, 'Planning and Conflict' in Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short (eds), *The SAGE companion to the city* (London, 2008)

Don Pinnock, 'Ideology and urban planning: Blueprints of a garrison city' in Wilmot G. James & Mary Simons (eds), *The Angry Divide: social and economic history of the Western Cape* (Cape Town, 1989)

Deborah Posel, 'A mania for measurement: statistics and statecraft in the transition to apartheid' in Saul Dubow (ed), *Science and society in southern Africa* (Manchester, 2000)

Jennifer Robinson, 'Power, space and the city: historical reflections on apartheid and post-apartheid urban orders' in David M. Smith (ed), *The apartheid city and beyond: urbanization and social change in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1992)

Melinda Silverman, "'Ons bou vir die Bank': Nationalism, architecture and Volkskas Bank' in Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (eds), *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after* (Cape Town, 1998)

William H Wilson, 'The ideology, aesthetics and politics of the City Beautiful movement' in Anthony Sutcliffe (ed), *The rise of modern urban planning, 1800-1914* (London, 1980)

## **Published books**

Ian Barrow, *Making history, drawing territory: British mapping in India, c.1756-1905* (New Delhi, 2003)

Keith Beavon, *Johannesburg: the making and shaping of a city* (Pretoria, 2004)

Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* (Cape Town, 1999)

Vivian Bickford-Smith and Elizabeth van Heyningen (eds), *The Waterfront* (Cape Town, 1994)

David Bloomberg, *The Chain Gang: Mayors who served in Cape Town's City Hall* (Cape Town, 2011)

Clive Chipkin, *Johannesburg transition: architecture & society from 1950* (Johannesburg, 2008)

Le Corbusier, *The city of to-morrow and its planning* - translated from the 8th French ed. of *Urbanisme* by Frederick Etchells (London, 1971)

Le Corbusier, *The radiant city: elements of a doctrine of urbanism to be used as the basis of our machine-age civilization* (London, 1967)

David Hywel Davies, *Land use in central Cape Town: a study in urban geography* (Cape Town, 1965)

Susan de Villiers, *A tale of three cities* (Cape Town, 1985)

Richard Dennis, *Cities in modernity: representations and productions of metropolitan space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge, 2008)

Saul Dubow & Alan Jeeves (eds), *South Africa's 1940s: worlds of possibilities* (Cape Town, 2005)

Saul Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge: science, sensibility, and white South Africa, 1820-2000* (Cape Town, 2006)

Hugh Floyd, *Building shapes in central areas* (Cape Town, 1963)

T. B. Floyd, *Township Layout* (Pietermaritzburg, 1951)

T. B. Floyd, *Town planning in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1960)

T. B. Floyd, *More about town planning in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1966)

John R. Gold, *The experience of modernism: modern architects and the future city, 1928-53* (London, 1997)

John R. Gold, *The practice of modernism: modern architects and urban transformation, 1954-1972* (London, 2007)

Peter Hall, *Cities of tomorrow: an intellectual history of city planning in the twentieth century* (Oxford, 2002)

David Harvey, *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (Cambridge, 1989)

Gilbert Herbert, *Martienssen and the international style: the modern movement in South African architecture* (Cape Town, 1975)

Alfred H Honikman (ed), *Cape Town, city of good hope* (Cape Town, 1966)

Jane Jacobs, *The death and life of great American cities* (New York, 1961)

James C. Scott, *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven, 1998)

John Shorten, *Cape Town: published under authority of the City Council of Cape Town to mark the Golden Jubilee of the greater city* (Johannesburg, 1963)

John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Berkeley, 1996)

Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's festival: contesting South Africa's national pasts* (Cape Town, 2003)

Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London, 1992)

Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town, 1998)